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Supreme Soviet Issues Decree on Forces Reduction

'Text' of Decree

LD2103115989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1100 GMT 21 Mar 89

["Decree by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the Reduction of the USSR Armed Forces"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 21 March (TASS)—The following decree by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium "on the reduction of the USSR Armed Forces and defensive expenditure during 1989-90" was distributed here today:

"With the aim of bringing the USSR Armed Forces into line with contemporary Soviet military doctrine of imparting to their organizational structure a greater defensive emphasis of maintaining the country's defense capability at a level of reasonable and reliable sufficiency, and of further reducing defense expenditure, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

1. To reduce, in the years 1989-1990, the USSR Armed Forces (the Soviet Army and Navy) by 500,000 servicemen, while substantially cutting the volume of conventional weapons and the Soviet Union's expenditure on defense needs according the the USSR state budget;

2. To instruct the USSR Council of Ministers to formulate and implement corresponding measures to fulfill Article 1 of this decree;

3. [To instruct] local soviets of people's deputies to take the necessary measures for the employment and housing of personnel of the officer corps, army and navy warrant officers, and extended-service personnel who have been released into the reserve or retirement, according to procedure established by the USSR Council of Ministers in connection with the reduction of the USSR armed forces."

The decree was signed by Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Tengiz Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

General Comments on Cuts

LD2103151589 Moscow TASS in English 1500 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—"The scope of military cuts to be implemented by the Soviet Union is very substantial. 500,000 people will be discharged from the armed forces within the next two years and conventional arms will be reduced as well," Gen. Vladimir Arkhipov, chief of logistics of the Soviet Armed forces, said today.

Commenting on the Supreme Soviet Presidium's decree on reducing the USSR Armed Forces and defence spending in 1989-1990 to TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy, he observed that the major steps currently undertaken by the Soviet Union in all spheres of economic restructuring are aimed primarily at increasing commodity resources and improving consumer services.

The Soviet Armed Forces, he said, are extending all possible assistance to the solution of this problem, the general pointed out.

"The Soviet Union has already drafted a partial plan of converting military industries and using their equipment and premises for civilian purposes, thus redistributing resources for needs of the national economy," Arkhipov said.

In his opinion, the conversion will "give a fresh impuetus to strengthening measures of confidence and expanding international cooperation."

"The USSR is not only elaborating a conversation plan," he stressed. "This process is already being put into effect. The Defence Ministry has prepared and submitted to the USSR State Committee for Supplies a list of thousands of items, worth more than half a billion roubles, obtained from the arms cuts.

They are offered for sale to the population, cooperatives and other organisations through the state committee's territorial branches."

"And this is but the first step," the general added.

Inspection of U.S. Bases Complete; No Violations

LD2003174289 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Washington March 20 TASS—Under the provisions of the Soviet-American treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, Soviet inspectors who arrived in the USA verified the observance of the INF Treaty by the United States at the centre for the training of operators of Pershing-2 missile complexes at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, and at a plant of the war-industry Martin Marietta Corporation at Middle River, Maryland. No violations of the provisions of the treaty by the U.S. side have been established.

U.S. Conducts Test of MX Missile 19 Mar

LD2003083989 Moscow TASS in English 0834 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] San Francisco March 20 TASS—The United States carried out one more test of the intercontinental ballistic MX missile this Sunday. It was launched from the Vandenberg Airforce Base, California, into the southern part of the Pacific Ocean.

The missile carried seven dummy warheads of the "Mark-21" type. They reached the two assigned "targets", lying apart from each other, not far from Kwajalein Atoll seven thousand kilometres away from the launching site. This was the eighteenth test out of the programmed twenty experimental MX launchings. For the first time, in keeping with this programme, the launching command was transmitted to the silo from a flying KS-135 plane, fitted out as an aerial strategic forces command centre. The test, according to an official spokesman of the U.S. Defense Department, was so successful that the possibility of cancelling the two remaining launchings will be studied.

The MX is capable of hitting separate targets with up to ten independently targeted warheads. Development and adoption of this missile have become the key phase of America's programme of "rearmament" and qualitative build-up of the country's nuclear potential. According to a spokesman of the U.S. Air Force, the MX is the most sophisticated intercontinental missile in America's arsenal. many experts believe that it is designed, according to its characteristics, for dealing the first strike. In December 1986 the first ten missiles of this type were deployed at the Warren Base, Wyoming. Fifty more have been delivered there since then.

* Burlatskiy Views Obstacles Facing CFE Talks

18070559 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 11, 15 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by Fedor Burlatskiy: "The Time Factor"]

[Text] **The reduction of conventional arms in Europe and measures to strengthen trust and security are the main topics of the negotiations which have begun in Vienna between the representatives of the nation-participants of the Warsaw Pact and NATO.**

For the first time, the negotiations on reduction of conventional arms began under very pleasant international conditions. In my view, three events played the decisive role in this. The first is the INF Treaty concluded between the USSR and the United States. The second is the excellent results of the meeting of the participants of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The third is the completion of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The new thinking of which M. S. Gorbachev spoke at the United Nations and E.A. Shevardnadze in Vienna is gradually yet inexorably becoming the new international practice.

Of course, it would be easy to say, as we have said many times before, that it is the Soviet Union through its initiatives and unilateral steps which has created the necessary conditions for the success of the current Vienna negotiations. But let us reject that stereotype: We did much, but for the time being, not everything that we could for a radical turnabout of public and official circles of the West for genuine trust in our policy, in its stability not only now and in the foreseeable future, but in distant long term. It may boldly be suggested that the wellspring nourishing the peace-loving activity of our foreign policy in the period of perestroyka has not dried up at all.

Yet the success of the negotiations depends not only upon the Warsaw pact countries. The Soviet and international public is correct in expecting the necessary evolution in the NATO countries' policy. As they like to say in Washington, "Let everyone walk his mile toward each other." And, perhaps, in the current conditions it is not even worth measuring whose "mile" is longer, who has made more concessions. The good will is important—to make such concessions and, mainly, to progress solidly toward results.

What are the obstacles on this path? First and foremost is the traditional problem of parity of all of the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Recently, paths for getting out of this dead end have been noticed. We have published the basic data on the relative strength of arms in Europe, acknowledged our superiority in tanks, and noted NATO superiority in certain other armaments. More importantly, the representatives of both sides have begun with greater frequency to move from the arithmetic of parity to a strategic understanding. And such an approach urgently dictates the minimization of all arms, of course, under a simultaneous reduction of the sides' obvious advantages in this or that form.

Another obstacle is the problem of modernization. At the present time, this may the the most difficult problem. Is there much sense in destroying old types of arms with one hand while creating new ones with the other? The West must think seriously about this problem, because this is precisely the source of the basic impulses of technological reconstruction of both nuclear and conventional arms as well, making the latter even more dangerous than nuclear arms.

Nevertheless, it seems that the main problems are not military, but political. Glasnost and perestroyka have become the basis for new thinking in the area of USSR foreign policy. Under the circumstances, the West is faced with an historic choice of an adequate response—not to this challenge, but to an appeal of all humanity.

It would be a mistake not to see that the policy of the United States and its NATO allies is undergoing changes. But, alas it is still far from the turnabout. In speaking before the U.S. Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, I allowed myself to joke that that country's policy once again is reminiscent of the Brezhnev style: Let's wait, think about it, see what happens, and put it off—the sky isn't falling.

The time factor at the Vienna negotiations, and at other negotiations between East and West, is becoming a major problem in its own right. Upon this factor depends not only the concrete results of the agreement in the area of conventional weapons, but the entire rhythm of forward progress in the matter of constructing a common European home, and a new type of international relations in general.

Perfilyev Gives Foreign Ministry Briefing 20 Mar

Reequipment of SS-20 Bases Noted

LD2003144889 Moscow TASS in English 1442 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 20 TASS—Work has gone under way in the Soviet Union to re-equip some operational bases housing RSD-10 (SS-20) missiles, which are being eliminated under the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, for RS-12M (SS-25) intercontinental ballistic missiles, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said at a briefing here on Monday.

The parties' right to use these missile operational bases as facilities to house ballistic or cruise land-based missiles, which do not fall under the INF Treaty, is envisaged by this document and is exercised by the Soviet Union in strict compliance with its provisions, Perfilyev noted. The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed that the Soviet side notified in advance the American side of its intention to get down to this re-equipment. The coming deployment of mobile launchers for RS-12M intercontinental ballistic missiles at former operational bases for RSD-10 missiles will be effected to replace stationary intercontinental ballistic missile launchers which are being liquidated. The overall number of intercontinental missile launchers will not be increased. Under the INF Treaty, re-equipped missile operational bases are subject for on-site inspections.

Afghan Opposition 'Government' Criticized

LD2003140989 Moscow TASS in English 1355 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 20 TASS—The way to an all-embracing settlement in Afghanistan lies only through an inter-Afghan dialogue and formation of a broadly-based government uniting all opposing forces and groups, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, told a briefing here on Monday.

He commented on a decision taken recently in Riyadh by a meeting of foreign ministers of the Islamic Conference Organisation on granting Afghanistan's place in this organisation to the so-called mujahidins, insurgent forces seeking to overthrow the legitimate Afghan government. This decision which some people try to present as a recognition of the opposition government, does not contribute to a political settlement of the Afghan situation, the Foreign Ministry spokesman pointed out.

Vadim Perfilyev described mujahidins' separatist activities and the so-called interim government set up by them as a flagrant violation of the Geneva accords. Therefore, he went on to say, any actions approving or recognising this separatist activity by mujahideens cannot be regarded as legitimate.

"As earlier, the Soviet Union proceeds and will proceed from the fact that Afghanistan has only one legitimate government recognised by most countries in the world. This government alone has legal powers to represent the Afghan state and the Afghan people in the international arena and at international fora," noted the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman.

Afghan Combat Operations Noted

LD2003213989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 20 Mar

[Text] The offensive launched by the rebels near Jalalabad has practically petered out, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said at a briefing here today. He reported that as of 20 March, the Afghan Government troops have been confidently holding the positions they occupy near Jalalabad. As a result of the strikes by Afghan air forces and artillery the rebels have suffered heavy losses. From 16 to 19 March alone they lost 1,500 people killed.

According to data supplied by competent Afghan authorities, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said, troubles continue in the refugees camps in Pakistani territory, including those in the district of Peshawar, caused by the forcible recruitment of young people into the formations of the opposition sent by the rebels into Jalalabad and by the large number of casualties whose corpses are delivered from there to the camps in Pakistan.

In connection with the resumption of missile fire on the international airport of Kabul by the forces of the Afghan armed opposition, Vadim Perfilyev said that these actions which cause casualties among innocent people and do damage to the safety of international civil aviation flights constitute a gross violation of the accepted principles and norms of international law. The responsibility for this rests with both the Afghan opposition and with those who direct its actions and supply it with weapons, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

[Begin Perfilyev recording] As far as the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan are concerned, they are scrupulously fulfilling the Geneva accord in all aspects. Both the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan have offered all means to representatives of UNGOMAP [UN Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan], that is the UN observers, to carry out their tasks in observing the fulfillment of the Geneva agreements. At the same time, Pakistan is not providing opportunities for UNGOMAP representatives to carry out corresponding tasks in areas of the Pakistani-Afghan border. In particular, for UNGOMAP representatives, it has turned out to be impossible not only to visit these areas, but even to fly over them by helicopter. One hopes that there too, on that border, the Afghan-Pakistani border, between two UN members, the observers of that international organization will succeed in carrying out those functions envisaged by the Geneva agreements. [end recording]

Hungarian Visit Explained

LD2003153889 Moscow TASS in English 1447 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 20 TASS—The working visit to the USSR of the general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) Karoly Grosz, to take place on March 23-24, is part of the traditional regular consultations between the leaders of the CPSU and the HSWP, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said at a briefing here today.

He also commented on a decision by Organisation of the Islamic Conference to give the seat of Afghanistan in the organisation to the opposition rebel forces bent on toppling the lawful government of the republic of Afghanistan. This decision which some quarters are trying to pass off for a recognition of the government of the opposition, is not conducive to a political settlement of the Afghan situation, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said. "The Soviet Union still proceeds and will continue to proceed from the assumption that there is only one lawful government in Afghanistan, recognized by most states of the world. Only this government has the right to represent the Afghan state and the Afghan people on the international arena and in international forums," Vadim Perfilyev said. The path toward a comprehensive settlement in Afghanistan lies solely through the establishment of an inter-Afghan dialogue and the setting up of a broadly-based government including all the opposing forces and factions.

Work has started in the Soviet Union to reequip some of the operational bases of the RSD-10 (SS-20) missiles, which are liquidated under the INF Treaty, for RS-12M (SS-25) intercontinental ballistic missiles. The right of the parties to use such operational missile bases as ones for ground-based ballistic or cruise missiles not covered by the INF Treaty, is laid down in this document and is being implemented by the Soviet Union in a strict compliance with the treaty's provisions, Vadim Perfilyev said.

In Moscow, he went on to say, we view with profound concern the deterioration of the already extremely complex situation in Lebanon. "The Soviet Union is calling on the Lebanese factions to exercise maximum restraint and to do everything possible so as to end the bloodshed forthwith and to embark on a dialogue with a view to restoring national consensus and preserving unity, independence and territorial integrity of their countries".

Vadim Perfilyev refuted a report, which recently made its appearance in Danish newspapers to the effect that the Third Class Captain Anatoliy Gushchin "has died in one of the camps in the USSR". The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said that Anatoliy Gushchin had been disciplined and demoted from the post of the commander of the Submarine No 137 for a gross infraction committed. At present he is serving in one of the coastal units.

Papers View Reaction to Iranian Stand on Rushdie

* Writers Support Rushdie

WA18070150a Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Mar 89 p 9

[Article by Yuriy Uzyumov: "We the Undersigned...."]

[Text] London—**The situation in which the British Government finds itself in connection with the Rushdie affair is becoming even more complicated. On one hand no one wants to further worsen relations with Iran, while on the other the tone of ultimatum in its demands to condemn Rushdie for "opposing Islam" is extremely sensitive in terms of self-esteem.**

The inhabitants of the British Isles can now see the sensational fuss about Rushdie's book "The Satanic Verses" only on television. The booksellers have considered it best to withdraw the book from their windows. The American television relays broadcast here have several times shown book stores in California blown up by Muslim terrorists [as published] and have cited what President Bush has said about the disturbing situation. The newspapers are publishing photographs from across the ocean of demonstrations by thousands of Muslims against "The Satanic Verses," and it is particularly dreadful that children are carrying placards reading "Kill Rushdie."

In a statement British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe decisively rejected attempts somehow to link the government with publication of the book, which he described as insulting not only for Muslims but for all of British society. "This book directs coarse and extremist criticism at us. In it, Britain is compared to Hitler's Germany!" At the same time the secretary rejected a proposal to start talks with the Iranian authorities until Khomeyni's order to kill Rushdie and other people promoting the publication of the book is rescinded.

Meanwhile, the following document has appeared in the press in a number of countries:

An Appeal to the Entire World

On 14 February the Ayatollah Khomeyni appealed to all Muslims to find and kill Salman Rushdie, author of "The Satanic Verses," and those involved in publication of this book. We, the undersigned, defending the right to freedom of opinion and expression of that opinion, state that we are also involved with this publication. We are involved regardless of whether or not we approve of the content of the book.... We call on the world public to defend the right *of all people to express their own ideas and beliefs and to hold discussion with their opponents on the basis of mutual tolerance, free from censorship and the fear of violence. We ask all world leaders to continue the fight to remove the threat from Salman Rushdie and those involved in the publication of his book, and to take firm steps to guarantee the elimination of that threat.*

Hundreds of well-known writers and figures in the articles from many countries have already signed this statement, including M. Antonioni, S. Beckett, S. Bellow, F. Fellini, (Kh. Goytisolo), N. Mailer, A. Miller, A. Moravia, F. Sagan, A. Sillitoe, W. Styron, and (M. Vargas Lyosa). A number of organizations of writers, book publishers, and booksellers and individual companies have expressed solidarity with this.

The signatures of two Soviet writers also appear beneath the text—T. Tolstoy and A. Rybakov. In London, English people have telephoned the Soviet Embassy, puzzled by this very small number. It is being patiently explained to those who telephone that neither the text of the statement nor the address of the Rushdie protection committee of his publishers are known in the USSR.

Let us fill this gap: The International Salman Rushdie Committee, PO Box 49, London SE1 1LX, United Kingdom.

* Iran Pushes Political Goals

18300150b Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Mar 89 p 9

[Article by Igor Belyayev: "The Great Satan and the Great Policy"]

[Text] **The world is still bewildered as to why the book "The Satanic Verses" by the Indian-born English author S. Rushdie has evoked such an unprecedentedly sharp reaction in Tehran and, following the example of Iran's spiritual leader, throughout the entire Muslim world. Now perhaps thousands of critics, philologists, and savants of the noble Koran and certain other holy Islamic texts, are trying to find in the content of the novel a reason for the anger, and up to now no one has, and I am convinced that some great policy connected with the fate of the Islamic revolution lies behind everything that is going on with reference to this ill-fated novel.**

Let me explain this thought. Last summer—to be accurate, on 15 July—at the suggestion of the speaker of the parliament A.A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani, who had previously been appointed acting commander in chief of Iran's armed forces, the supreme Iranian leader, or, as he is called in Farsi, Vali-ye Faqih, the Imam Khomeyni, consented to adoption of the well-known Security Council Resolution 598 of 20 July 1987, calling for a cease-fire at the fronts of the Iran-Iraq war. This step cost the leader of Iran dearly. He even said that he had been forced to take poison. And he drank it....

Those who are usually called the pragmatic politicians in Iran—grouped around A.A. Hameshi-Rafsanjani—were not upset by this. They started to suggest, and even dictate to the imam conditions for coexistence with the West, explaining the need to adopt their own proposals because of the serious economic situation in the country and other destructive results of the almost 8 years of war with Iraq. And in fact they continue to do so to this day. For up to now there is only armistice and a cease-fire at the fronts. No start has even been made toward everything else leading to the conclusion of a peace treaty between the sides.

Immediately after adoption of Resolution 598, the West European countries, along with Japan, engaged in serious activity, reckoning on their re-entry into Iran. In Washington, too, they thought of this, and continue to do so. It turned out that in the country where 9 years ago the first Islamic revolution took place, the time was returning when the West dominated its economy and other spheres of Iranian life. I think that the Vali-ye Faqih disliked all of this. For he did not fight the Shah so as to be subordinate to the West. However, pressure from the pragmatists increased. They even talked about establishing Iranian-U.S. contacts. And then the scandal broke about the S. Rushdie book....

If we set aside (for the sake of argument, of course) the question of the personal fate of the writer, who, incidentally, has offered his own apologies to the Muslim world, then the picture that emerges is as follows:

a) Iranian-U.S. relations have again deteriorated. The thousands who have taken part in demonstrations in Tehran have pronounced the Great Satan anathema;

b) in response to the corresponding step taken by the EEC, Iran has recalled its own ambassadors from the capitals of West Europe;

c) Anglo-Iranian relations have become especially complicated. The Foreign Office in London has withdrawn its charge d'affaires in Iran and the British Embassy in Tehran has been closed;

d) the entire American and West European press has accused Tehran of human rights violations, in particular the right to free will, which is a violation of religious tolerance. This argument has merely raised the stakes in the reward for the murder of the author of the ill-fated book;

e) the entire Muslim world is in uproar, though I doubt that apart from a few well-educated clergymen ("ulemi" in Arabic) many people have even read the novel.

When I looked at the television programs showing the demonstrations by Muslim believers in Tehran calling for the murder of the author of the novel "The Satanic Verses" I was reminded of the events of February 1979. I happened to be in Iran at that time. The heat of passion among those taking part in the demonstrations was at least as great, perhaps greater. What I saw convinced me that the religious foundation of political life in Iran has again gained the ascendancy.

Against the background of what is happening, the president of Iran, Khamenei, has already visited Yugoslavia and Romania, and USSR Foreign Minister E. Shevardnadze has visited Tehran. Khomeyni has stated, not for the first time incidentally, that the USSR intends to build its relations with Iran on the principles of full equality, noninterference in internal affairs, and mutual advantage. At the request of his British colleague, our foreign minister held talks in Tehran with Iranian Foreign Minister A. Velayati on the subject of the scandal about "The Satanic Verses." Geoffrey Howe asked E. Shevardnadze to try to settle the scandal that has erupted. In particular, in connection with this reference was made to the fetwa of Khomeyni calling for S. Rushdie's death. I would like to clarify the following: In and of itself a fetwa is not a sentence. I would not like to predict whether or not these steps indicate any desire to find a counterbalance to the deteriorating relations between Iran and the West even though talks are going on in Tehran....

With regard to the response of Iran's spiritual leader to the pressure from the pragmatists favoring the West, today it can be stated that the appearance of the novel "The Satanic Verses" has helped him not only to take on his opponents but even win the battle.

UN Human Rights Commission Session Reviewed

*PM2003114189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Mar 89 First Edition p 4*

[Special correspondents V. Bolshakov and I. Melnikov dispatch "The Right to a Human Existence. On the Results of the UN Commission Session"]

[Excerpts] Geneva, March—For a month and a half, from 30 January through 10 March, the participants in the session at the Geneva Palais des Nations listened day after day to reports describing terrible events and facts which, alas, are a reality of our time. They were the documented studies of UN special experts whom the commission traditionally instructs to report on how rights and freedoms embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in international treaties on civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights are being violated in specific countries and regions, and why. [passage omitted]

Unquestionably a new quality could be clearly perceived in the work of the UN Human Rights Commission at the current session. In our view, it was best expressed by Sten Andersson, Swedish minister of foreign affairs, who delivered a speech here. No state, he said, can regard safeguarding human rights exclusively as its own internal affair.

An understanding of the interdependence between the development factor and the application of human rights and freedoms crystalized in the international community long ago. This is borne out by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights itself, which forms the basis of the whole body of international laws on the protection of these rights and of the international treaties pertaining to human rights. Nonetheless, it was only recently that the appeal rang out, and at the current session especially emphatically, to heed the universal nature of these treaties. It was here, in Geneva, that for the first time the "right to development" was proclaimed at this level on a par with such fundamental rights as the right to life, personal freedom and security, work, and education.

The emerging transition from confrontation, which has been traditional at this kind of forum, to cooperation between capitalist and socialist countries on the question of human rights became more noticeable. Here, too, it is difficult to overestimate the role of our restructuring, both in domestic and foreign policy. Headway began to be made when, after the 27th CPSU Congress, the sides' "monologues" were replaced in the new conditions by real dialogue between East and West in the humanitarian sphere. The Western states also took a step forward. They recognized what they refused to admit before—the indispensability of social and economic rights.

When the representative of Great Britain noted in his speech at the session that the list of family reunifications, which London traditionally leveled as a accusation against the Soviet Union, has been exhausted, we recalled the meeting of representatives of the 35 CSCE participant countries on contacts between people, which was held in Bern, capital of Switzerland, only 3 years ago. What a lot of heated polemics and mutual recriminations there were then, and how the emigres, ordered to Bern by anticommunist centers, raged at their "rival meeting!" What a lot of "pilgrims" from all parts of the world used to flock to Geneva with anti-Soviet slogans during sessions of the Human Rights Commission! What has happened to all that?

A distinctive feature of these sessions has been speeches by prominent statesmen and politicians from the session's rostrum. Support for constructive dialogue was expressed by Prime Minister Michel Rocard of France, the foreign ministers of Spain and Sweden, and Vatican representative Cardinal Casaroli. Cesar Delgado Beretto, Peruvian minister of justice, and Dante Caputo, his Argentine colleague, argued convincingly in their speeches that the current international economic system, and specifically the practice governing the repayment of debts by developing countries, favor the violation of human rights and are a genuine time bomb. The problem of debts and their negative impact on human rights in debtor countries ought to be discussed at the next session of the UN Commission, the Peruvian minister proposed.

The session was marked by many new features, F. Stanevskiy, the head of the USSR delegation, said in conversation. Probably the main one being that the discussion, on this occasion, was much more civilized than in the past. Despite relapses into the old style as, for instance, in the speech of V. Walters, the U.S. UN representative, a trend toward cooperation predominated and was evident in virtually all the delegates' speeches. Even the tenor of these speeches has changed. Kiev University Professor V. Vasilenko, head of the Ukrainian SSR delegation, believes that in many respects the session marked a breakthrough. Above all because Western countries began to view us as partners with whom it is possible to seriously negotiate specific humanitarian cooperation. Incidentally, it was our delegation which drew up a resolution on such cooperation in the sphere of human rights in accordance with the decisions and in the spirit of the Vienna meeting.

Changes can be perceived not only on our side but also among the Western community of states. The bloc approach is being gradually replaced by a pan-human approach. This is not going as smoothly as might be desired, but progress, noticeable progress, has been achieved. It is enough to quote the example of the discussion of human rights on territories occupied by Israel, for instance. It is indicative that Sweden voted in favor of a resolution on this question for the first time, while Japan and Spain abstained.

In many respects our more attentive "reading" of Western positions, as distinct from previous years, helped to establish effective cooperation between delegations on questions which, it would seem, could have only led to confrontation in the past.

On this occasion the commission reached the unanimous conclusion that there are no primary and secondary rights. They must be implemented as a whole, since the violation of certain rights inevitably leads to the flouting of others. It was precisely these "points of reference" that were used by the Belorussian SSR when drafting a resolution containing an appeal to all states to guarantee young people the right to education and work, S. Ogurtsov, Belorussia's representative, who addressed the session as an observer, said.

Albeit not always very willingly, Western countries did agree to a number of compromises at the 45th session, both when discussing the situation in individual countries and also as regards a whole group of countries. Only thanks to this approach was it possible to draw up the long-awaited convention on children's rights which will be submitted for discussion at the next session of the UN General Assembly.

There was also a great deal of talk in Geneva about the future; among other things, about human rights which are yet to be established as a legal category. Ukrainian SSR delegates said, for instance, that they intend to propose the elaboration of a new generation of human rights—ecological rights—at the next session. The time for this will come. It is a good thing that this matter is being discussed and considered right now. It is happening because mankind has reached a stage in its development where it is beginning—jointly—to strive for the great human right to a human existence.

Amnesty International Delegation To Visit

LD2103051189 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] A delegation from the nongovernmental organization Amnesty International is arriving in the Soviet Union on the 22d of this month. Invited by the Institute of the State and the Law, it will spend 10 days in this country to meet with representatives of law enforcement agencies and scholars and to attend court hearings and visit correction establishments. We now present an interview with the vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, director of the Institute of the State and the Law, Valeriy Kudryavtsev.

[Kudryavtsev, in Russian, fading to superimposed English translation] A visit like this, if it were to take place several years ago, would have been unique, but I can't say this today because there have already been quite a few contacts and meetings with individuals, nongovernmental organizations, and politicians representing various countries (?with a view) different from our own. The new political thinking has paved the way for meetings and contacts which could not have occurred in the past. I believe that the situation in the world and the political climate is different. We have changed, too, and I believe that I have enough reasons to say that Amnesty International has also failed to remain unchanged. Favorable developments in the world have had a favorable impact on that organization. We hope to have a useful exchange of views on various issues of mutual interest, such as conditions in prisons and individual issues related to the criminal code. In that sense, any contacts with people having different views are not only possible, but useful.

[Announcer] When the Institute of the State and the Law invited an Amnesty International delegation to the Soviet Union, did it have to ask for permission at the Central Committee of the Communist Party or any other party or government office?

[Kudryavtsev] We did not have to make such a request because this is not going to be a political visit. Let's put it this way: A delegation from a foreign organization is going to pay a visit to a Soviet research establishment. We have the full right to invite anyone we want. [passage omitted] In its previous publications, Amnesty International relied on doubtful sources to get information concerning both individuals and conditions at (?our) correction establishments, and also the way Soviet law enforcement agencies operate in general. I believe that direct contacts with people and firsthand information about our life cannot do harm to anyone.

EEC Expresses 'Concern' About Apartheid

LD1603180789 Moscow TASS in English 1438 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Albert Balebanov:

The ambassador of South Africa in Brussels was summoned to the headquarters of the European Economic Community (EEC) where he was once again told about Western Europe's 'concern' over the continuing repression and terror against the black African population in South Africa.

The protest was prompted by the adoption of a law by South Africa to ban financial support from abroad to opposition anti-apartheid organisations. The EEC fears, specifically, that the law will thwart material assistance through South African church organisations to the victims of apartheid.

Of course, to express concern is a legitimate and quite understandable move. But, unfortunately, bearing in mind the West's virtual complicity with the apartheid regime, this move is ineffectual. It is perfectly clear that not so much words and emotions as concrete deeds are needed in this case.

The international community has long arrived at a conclusion that comprehensive political and economic sanctions could become the most effective way to influence the South African authorities to make them end the inhuman system of apartheid. Special resolutions were even adopted on that score by the United Nations.

For fairness' sake, it must be noted that some measures of this kind have already been taken by the EEC. They concerned in particular the imposition of a ban on new investments in South Africa and on the import of coal, iron, steel and gold coins from that country into Western Europe. However these limited measures are of rather a symbolic nature and have no serious effect on Pretoria.

It is noteworthy that EEC countries are unanimous in their striving to press for the elimination of the abominable system of apartheid. They have publicly stated that more than once. But there is no unity among them over the sanctions issue. The application of sanctions is hindered mainly by Britain whose Conservative government stubbornly opposes them.

According to the American 'NEWSDAY' newspaper, secret collusion with the United States in 1986, on the one hand, and Britain's vast economic interests in South Africa, on the other, have led to this stance. Britain has huge capital investments estimated at more than 12,000 million pounds sterling in South Africa. It also is the source of large batches of enriched uranium (up to 140 tonnes a year) and the lucrative market for the sale of British military hardware.

Together with the United States, France, and Israel, Britain has been helping Pretoria to develop a nuclear weapon of its own. It was not fortuitous that South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha, who is now in London, thanked Margaret Thatcher for opposing sanctions against Pretoria.

The outcome of the West's indecision and London's overt connivance is that Pretoria, exhilarated by all-permissiveness, continues to trample upon elementary human rights and heeds world public opinion less and less.

China

RSFSR's Levina Meets PRC Jilin Delegation

PM2003131589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Talk at RSFSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] On 17 March T.N. Levina, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, received a delegation from the Jilin Province (PRC) Foreign Affairs Office.

During the talk, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, there was a discussion of questions of expanding and improving varied cooperation at the regional level between the administrative-territorial units of the RSFSR and Jilin Province.

Metallurgy Ministry Group Ends PRC Visit

OW2003174489 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] A delegation of the Soviet Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy ended its visit to China. During its talks in China, it was pointed out that under the present circumstances, it is profitable to develop and expand Soviet-Chinese economic, scientific, and technological cooperation and trade in the ferrous metallurgical field. The cooperation should be based on mutual benefit and more effective use of both countries' potential in the ferrous metallurgical field. To this end, it is necessary to sponsor meetings between experts of scientific and technological research organs and enterprises to map out specific cooperation projects and plans for realizing these projects.

PRC Embassy Group Ends Crimea Oblast Visit

OW2003182589 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1400 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] A delegation of staff members of the Chinese Embassy in the Soviet Union ended a visit to Crimea Oblast, the Ukraine. The guests were interested in establishing direct economic contacts between Chinese provinces and Crimea Oblast.

The representatives of the Chinese Embassy visited meat and grain industrial enterprises, the Photon Complex, which produces electronic communications equipment, and a tannery. They also called on (Flashik), first vice chairman of the Crimea Oblast Soviet Executive Committee.

During the talks, (Pei Zhiyuan), scientific and technological counselor of the Chinese Embassy, made specific proposals on direct trade and cooperation, such as building tourist service enterprises in the Crimea, opening hotels furnished with Chinese dining halls in major tourist centers, promoting cooperation between Chinese and Crimean enterprises, such as with the Photon Complex in the electronic industrial field, and signing agreements of friendly ties between the Crimea and Chinese cities.

PRC's Foes Spreading Tibet 'Fairy Tales'

PM2003122789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Article by political observer Vsevolod Ovchinnikov: "Tibet: Fact Versus Fairy Tale"]

[Text] During March, when there have been riots in Tibet on the 30th anniversary of the antigovernment revolt and martial law has been imposed in Lhasa, the world's press has again been talking about that mysterious corner of China, which has long been a kind of medieval time warp.

Legends mixing truth and invention have always surrounded this inaccessible mountain region. But nowadays fairy tales about Tibet are being spread deliberately. Beijing's avowed and secret enemies allege that China "occupied" Tibet during the final phase of the civil war. They whip up a hypocritical fuss about the alleged fact that the 1959 mutiny and the current riots were caused by "human rights violations," and depict emigre separatists as "fighters for freedom and democracy."

All these are deliberate lies. First, Tibet has long been part of China. Second, March 1959 has become a historical turning point for Tibetans when the feudal-serf system, which had, it transpired, remained in power by using not only religious fanaticism but truly medieval means of terror to boot, finally crumbled. I can vouch to that as an eyewitness, since in the summer of 1955 I was one of the first foreign journalists invited by the PRC State Council to visit Tibet after its peaceful liberation.

I recall that the agreement on this liberation was signed by the Chinese central people's government and the local Tibetan authorities on 23 May 1951. It stated that questions of the mountain region's external relations and defense would be wholly transferred to Beijing, but the central authorities would not alter Tibet's political structure, change the Dalai Lama's functions and powers, or encroach on the monasteries' income. The agreement stated that on issues concerning reforms in Tibet, there would be no coercion on the part of the central authorities. The reforms were to come about voluntarily, when the people wanted them, and on the basis of consultations with eminent Tibetan figures.

For 8 years, right up to the mutiny, Beijing strictly followed the spirit and the letter of this agreement—something which, I repeat, I was able to see for myself when I visited Tibet midway through this period. The People's Liberation Army crossed Tibetan territory to the state border and undertook its defense. But the authority of the local officials, monasteries, and feudalists who owned virtually all land and pasture together with their serf population, were left intact.

As an American colleague aptly put it, we were the "trailblazers" in this high region, sometimes feeling like Mark Twain characters—"Yankees at King Arthur's Court." It was as if some kind of time machine had transported us to the severe atmosphere of the Middle Ages. Seeing features of past eras with our own eyes was initially exciting because of its local color. But soon we were struck—or, rather, depressed—by the cruel inhumanity of the social system, which could only be imagined by referring to historical novels. Horse guards lashing people to the ground to clear a path through a crowd for a feudal lord. Three fugitive serfs clamped for punishment in a common yoke made out of a split log. People supervising teenagers cutting barley as a corvee. All these were features of the reality that "human rights" defenders now idealize.

As for the arguments about Tibet's "occupation," Tibet became part of China back in the 13th century. But ties between the two peoples were established long before that. In the 7th century the Tibetan prince Song Tsen Gampo united the warring tribes and decided to marry into the Tang dynasty of Chinese emperors. The Princess Wen Cheng whom he married is still deeply respected by Tibetans, since she brought with her as a dowry Chinese craftsmen who founded almost 600 new crafts in Tibet (including weaving, the blacksmith trade, and ceramics production).

Since ancient times the Buddhist clergy has enjoyed not just enormous religious influence in Tibet, but has also owned vast lands, keeping almost the entire population in a state of serfdom. Consequently, Chinese emperors since the time of the Yuan dynasty have sought to strengthen their power mainly through the heads of the monasteries. Thus, the priest-rulers, who subsequently gained the title Dalai Lama, formed a feudal theocratic form of rule that continued in Tibet until this century.

British imperialism tried to penetrate the Himalayas via India in order to turn Tibet into a British sphere of influence and ultimately capture it. However, after India threw off the colonial yoke, it unambiguously recognized Chinese sovereignty over Tibet. An agreement on trade and ties between China's Tibetan region and India was signed 29 April 1954. As the Chinese press noted at the time, this agreement "eliminated all trace of the British colonizers in Tibet and opened up a new stage in strengthening friendship and cooperation between the Chinese and Indian peoples."

This was the agreement that formulated for the first time the well-known "Pancha Shila"—the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Beijing and Delhi reaffirmed their adherence to these principles during the recent Sino-Indian summit. And the Indian side again stated that it views the situation in Tibet as an internal Chinese affair.

But let us return to Chinese reality at that time, when I saw it with my own eyes. As has already been said, the central people's government rigorously observed the 1951 agreement and pursued a flexible ethnic policy. Any measures intended to improve the lives of ordinary working people were implemented only with the knowledge and consent of those who kept the farmers and herdsmen in a state of serfdom. Arriving in some far-flung region, teams of traveling doctors, veterinarians, and cultural workers went first of all to present gifts to the local feudal lord or monastery abbot. They asked permission to give him medical aid and look over his livestock. It was only after obtaining the favor and support of the "top people" that they embarked on mass inoculations, arranged open-air movie shows, and opened procurement points where Tibetans could obtain hoes, tea, salt, and other goods in return for skins, wool, and natural medicinal products. Prominent figures in the Tibetan clergy and aristocracy were co-opted into the PRC National People's Congress, and a preparatory committee was formed to set up a Tibetan autonomous region.

The flexible policy embodied in the slogan "winning friends with good deeds" gradually bore fruit. This was greeted with alarm by reactionary serf owners. They intended to provoke a new wave of interethnic strife, recognizing that it would prove harder and harder to do this with every passing year. This was the reason behind the 17 March 1959 antigovernment uprising, whose participants secretly smuggled the Dalai Lama out of Lhasa and subsequently abroad. Letters from the Dalai Lama to the commissar of the Tibetan Military District (signed in his own hand 10, 11, and 16 March) are in existence and show clearly that the plotters were acting against his will. It is hard to say whether this was actually the case. Incidentally, it is now more important to look forward, rather than backward.

What is the present-day position of the head of the lama clergy? According to THE TIMES OF INDIA, the Dalai Lama does not question Chinese sovereignty over Tibet and recognizes Beijing's authority on questions of foreign relations, defense, finance, and transport, insisting on Tibet's complete autonomy on cultural and religious issues. If this is indeed so, grounds do exist, in my view, for a mutually acceptable agreement.

It is clear that a return to the feudal past is impossible. After all, the collapse of the uprising and the flight of its instigators abroad made the former serfs free people and owners of their own fields and pasture land. This, too, should not be forgotten by the Western champions of "human rights." There is no doubt about something else, too. The Tibetan people have retained their adherence to their traditions and beliefs, to their way of life. But the excesses of the "Cultural Revolution," which also affected Tibet, could not fail to exacerbate already-difficult local problems. That is why a great deal will have to be done there, as in other remote parts of the country, to improve interethnic relations.

One would like to hope that, having restored their national unity, the Tibetans will take a worthy place in the Chinese family of peoples.

Northeast Asia

Reportage on USSR-Japan Foreign Ministry Talks

Economist Previews Talks

OW2103123289 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 19 Mar 89

[Text] The Moscow newspaper IZVESTIYA carries an article by economist (Cherishev). This article is about the Soviet-Japanese deputy foreign ministerial consultations that will open on 19 March. Let us have a look at what the article has to say.

The development of the world situation, the situation in the Asia and Pacific region, and East-West cooperation are influenced to a great extent by the state of Soviet-Japanese relations. The Soviet Union has advocated implementation of the principles of new political thinking and has taken firm measures to enhance the healthy growth of international relations. In the field of international cooperation, the initiative of Japanese foreign policy, which is beginning to come into full play, is becoming increasingly active. In this situation, it is quite possible that the interests of both country may converge in a wide number of areas. That is, Soviet and Japanese interests are broadly identical in such issues as Japan's international cooperation initiative and the Soviet side's new political thinking, and the Japanese military doctrine of pure defense and the Soviet idea of limiting the number of armed forces and weapons within reasonable bounds.

Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to Japan in December of last year gave impetus to Soviet-Japanese contacts. Issues relating to signing a peace treaty were seriously discussed. Now what is important is to make bilateral dialogue fruitful. Of course, there is, and there must be, no issue banned from discussion. It is a well-known fact that the territorial question is the most significant pending issue. Japan believes that the four Kurile islands, namely Etorofu, Kunashiri, Habomai, and Shikotan, should be returned to Japan.

According to (Cherishev), the USSR considers this demand groundless. It is not unusual for states to have varying views concerning the present state of world politics. It is not reasonable to hope that differences in views between states can be eliminated effortlessly and promptly. Therefore, the two countries must persevere in joining efforts and acting concertedly. In that, what is important is the fact that in the present world relations between any two countries involve a great many factors such as economics, politics, treaty rights, and culture. It is politically irresponsibile to bring out all these factors for the settlement of one single issue.

On the other hand, the Japanese Government has time and again handled continuing problems with the USSR, including major ones, rationally and without interrupting relations with the Soviet Union. All aspects of Soviet-Japanese relations are interrelated. The solution of each and every problem affects how the remaining problems will be approached and how much mutual trust is possible.

There are many fields in which the USSR and Japan can actively cooperate: for instance, the expansion of economic cooperation, particularly the expansion of new forms of economic cooperation. In that sense, measures taken on the development of the Soviet Far East are noteworthy. Priveleges granted to foreign partners are included in the measures. There are still many issues in which the people of the two countries must conduct discussions, exchange information, and seek contacts. (Cherishev) said he hopes the above will find their rightful places in the discussions for a peace treaty.

Japan has time and again asserted its intention to build solid relations based on true understanding and trust and to give the fullest play to the latent wish in the two countries to help each other. It is very important that this assertion be backed up by concrete examples. An important aspect of Soviet-Japanese relations is the possibility of a scheme for joint cooperative efforts in the Asia and Pacific region. Recently, in an interview with IZVESTIYA, Prime Minister Takeshita noted the need for cooperation to develop the economy and society of the Asia and Pacific region and to fortify peace in the area.

In his speech at Krasnoyarsk in September last year, General Secretary Gorbachev presented concrete proposals for lowering the level of military confrontation in Asia. Of course, the Soviet Union is ready to discuss any other ideas for improving the situation in Asia and the Pacific. In the Krasnoyarsk proposals, the USSR took upon itself the major responsibility of not increasing the number of any type of nuclear weapons in this region. Unfortunately, there has not been any favorable response from Japan to this Soviet initiative. Not only are there no concrete proposals capable of replacing the Soviet ones, but concrete demands are onesidedly addressed to the USSR. Japan often acts like a justice of the Supreme Court discoursing from above. For example, how are we supposed to understand the demand for large scale reduction of the Soviet military capability, which sounds a bit like an ultimatum, when Japan itself is not ready to do anything? The following question also inevitably comes to mind: How can we reconcile the expressed Japanese intention to cooperate with the USSR on a regional level with such an attitude?

As a last point, economist (Cherishev) stressed the need to develop Soviet-Japanese relations to a level compatible with the spirit and demands of the present era.

Rogachev, Kuriyama Meet 19 Mar

OW2103114189 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Station correspondent Potapov report]

[Text] The ninth Soviet-Japanese deputy foreign minister-level regular consultations began in Tokyo on 19 March. In this connection, Moscow radio correspondent Potapov reports as follows:

The Soviet-Japanese regular consultations are being held at Iikura Hall in Minato Ward, Tokyo, attended by the Soviet delegation led by Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev of the Soviet Union and by the Japanese delegation led by Deputy Vice Minister Kuriyama. The first round of negotiations on 19 March lasted for more than 3 hours, and the two sides discussed wide-ranging problems on a worldwide scale.

According to diplomatic sources in Tokyo, both the Soviet and Japanese sides gave their respective assessments of the world situation and discussed various problems in East-West relations, including Soviet-U.S. relations, the European situation, and disarmament.

Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev said the current Soviet-Japanese regular consultations were being held in a world situation in which the trend of detente is on the rise and political dialogue is being held actively. In addition, Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev explained the Soviet viewpoint on current international relations and Soviet measures concerning various present problems. He also expounded on the recent Soviet peace proposals, including the Soviet way of thinking and initiatives, disclosed in CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations.

The Japanese side, while expressing satisfaction over the current Japan-USSR negotiations, pointed out the importance of Japanese-Soviet relations. Furthermore, the Japanese side positively appraised the new Soviet political thinking and the general secretary's UN speech.

At the consultations, opinions were exchanged on the European situation, including trade and economic issues, taking into account the plan to create an integrated European market in 1992. In connection with the disarmament issue, discussions were focused on such topics as taking advantage of the impetus of the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty and continuing constructive dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States.

The first round of the regular Soviet-Japanese consultations was held in a generally businesslike and constructive atmosphere. At the consultations, the Soviet Union and Japan confirmed their similar fundamental approaches to various contemporary global issues, including problems concerning world disarmament and detente.

On 20 March, the final day of the consultations, the two sides will discuss regional problems, the situation in the Asia-Pacific region, and USSR-Japan bilateral relations.

Rogachev, Kuriyama Meet 20 Mar

LD2003152589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1405 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Tokyo, 20 Mar, (TASS)—TASS correspondents Vladimir Kuchko and Vladimir Solntsev report:

The Soviet Union attaches great significance to the realization of a summit-level visit to Japan and believes that the sooner the sides begin to work specifically through the issues that might constitute its substance, the sooner the visit itself might take place. This was stated by the Soviet side during the 2d day of Soviet and Japanese foreign ministry consultations, which ended here today. At the same time the opinion was also expressed that preparations for the visit should not be linked to any preliminary conditions that might only complicate the matter.

During a discussion of bilateral problems, both delegations, which were headed respectively by Igor Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, and Takakazu Kuriyama, Japanese vice minister of foreign affairs, expressed satisfaction at the marked activation of Soviet-Japanese political dialogue at various levels. It was noted that the prospects for the development of political contacts between the two countries are reassuring. Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno will pay an official visit to the USSR in May. An agreement has been achieved in principle on a visit to Japan this year by a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet and on establishing a direct dialogue between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Paty [LDP]. During the current year a delegation of the LDP will visit the USSR at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. An invitation to four members of the Japanese ministerial cabinet to visit the Soviet Union has been renewed within the context of expanding political contacts.

Today an in-depth discussion was also held on the situation in Asia and the Pacific basic, including concrete regional problems. The Soviet side stressed the significance of Mikhail Gorbachev's Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk speeches, which reflect the Soviet Union's view of ways of improving the situation in the Asian and Pacific region. The USSR has already undertaken a number of concrete steps in this direction. Among other things, it has concluded the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan and announced a unilateral reduction in the numbers of its armed forces in the eastern part of the USSR.

The Japanese side stated that it welcomes the warming of the political climate that can be observed in the Asia and Pacific region, and shares the opinion that it is necessary to seek ways to achieve peace and resolve regional problems. The results of the exchange of opinions revealed a certain amount of common ground in the aspirations of the USSR and Japan. However, there are differences in concrete approaches and assessments of the developing situation. The Soviet side pointed to a number of negative aspects of the situation in the Asia and Pacific region and revealed the lack of foundation for attempts to whip up tension in the region through references to a "Soviet threat."

The Japanese side displayed a great interest in the process of normalization of Sino-Soviet relations, stating that it welcomes this as a contribution to the cause of consolidating peace.

In the course of a discussion on the situation in the Korean peninsula, the Soviet side stressed the great importance of reducing the military-political confrontation and conducting an inter-Korean dialogue toward this end. The friendly nature of relations between the USSR and the People's Democratic Republic of Korea was stressed.

A thorough exchange of opinions took place concerning the condition and prospects for the development of regional economic cooperation. The USSR is ready to assist in every possible way the establishment of such cooperation within the context of the restructuring of foreign economic links being conducted by the Soviet Union. The Japanese side expressed the opinion that the structure of future cooperation should not be confined to (?trade), but should also touch on scientific-technological cooperation and capital investment.

Evaluating the results of the consultations, which were being held for the ninth time, Soviet diplomatic sources in Tokyo described them as an important channel for a serious exchange of opinions and pointed to a certain rapprochement of positions on international problems. Despite existing differences, each time there was an increasing number of points of contact. In this connection the Soviet side expressed its hope for a successful continuation of the consultations and conveyed to Kuriyama, the Japanese vice minister of foreign affairs, an invitation to visit the USSR in 1990, which was accepted with appreciation.

Takeshita IZVESTIYA Interview, Ties Viewed

OW2103065589 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 18 Mar 89

[From the "Soviet Far East Report" program]

[Text] Listeners, an interview with Japanese Prime Minister Takeshita by a correspondent of IZVESTIYA—an influential Soviet newspaper—has aroused great interest in the Soviet Far East. This was the first time in history a Japanese prime minister had directly addressed Soviet readers on issues of interest to the peoples of our two countries. With regard to this interview, (Pavel Igakel), doctor of economics and deputy director of the Economics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Far East Branch [ASFEB], states the following:

Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to Japan in December of last year was the first sign of the long-awaited thaw in Soviet-Japanese relations. In this connection, Prime Minister Takeshita's interview can be taken as hope for continuation of the dialogue that began with Shevardnadze's visit. The prime minister's appeal to a large number of Soviet people, who have made sincere responses to and taken great interest in the achievements made in various fields by our neighboring country, Japan, has become a significant event today.

In this interview, Prime Minister Takeshita stressed: The Soviet Union is a very important neighbor of Japan. Our basic principle is to establish stable relations based on mutual trust and understanding, and to further promote such relations in an effort to bring bilateral cooperation into full play.

Mr (Igakel) continues as follows: Overall mutual trust cannot be achieved without trust and stable economic cooperation. As is known to everyone, the Soviet Union and Japan had promoted economic cooperation for quite a long time before a certain period of stagnation began. The development of such a situation is connected with the fact that Japan's economic structure has been reformed and the Japanese economy has turned to the South Pacific for its raw materials. It is also related to the fact that the Soviet economy, the Soviet Far East economy in particular, has suffered from certain difficulties. Our economic cooperation is in raw materials—that is, in the fields related to primary industry.

The Economics Institute of the USSR ASFEB has long been engaged in the study of measures to promote economic exchanges in the Asian-Pacific region, particularly with Japan. Joint research on various issues has been conducted in cooperation with Japanese scholars, and the two sides usually share similar views. The major problems now facing us include the fact that the Japanese partners' interest in cooperation with the Soviet Far East with regard to raw materials has decreased to a certain extent, and that the restructuring of the Soviet economy has not progressed sufficiently far enough to create new fields of cooperation or to upgrade the efficiency of cooperation. An imperfect trading system has also obstructed development. We are now in a transition period, and new enterprises or foreign trade organs have begun to join in the activities to promote foreign trade. However, these activities have not yet reached the world market or improved mutual relations in the international community. With a shift in the Soviet economy from the strict centralized system of the past to the current system of expanding direct exchanges and establishing joint cooperatives, the Soviet economy has taken positive steps forward. However, the current situation in trade has not changed.

As Prime Minister Takeshita has stated, in order to bring the potential for cooperation between our two countries into full play, mutual trust and understanding in the economic field must be strengthened. In this regard, great efforts are being made at present to promote economic development in the Soviet Far East. For example, a program for developing the economy by the year 2000 has been worked out and measures have been taken to promote foreign investment and joint ventures in the Soviet Far East. The government approved these programs last December; they were formulated to implement the tasks designated in General Secretary Gorbachev's Krasnoyarsk address. These programs will begin this April. All of these measures and programs seek to stabilize economic exchanges with nations in the Asian-Pacific region, particularly with Japan, our major partner. They also seek to strengthen the positions of our two countries.

According to a survey conducted by the Economics Institute of the USSR ASFEB, the present cooperation between our two countries primarily concerns raw materials, particularly in the field of fisheries, forestry, and [words indistinct]. However, this trend does not obstruct the development of our cooperation. Japanese scholars also support this observation. There are many regions in the Soviet Far East that abound in raw materials. [Word indistinct] are rarely found in the Asian-Pacific region. If these materials are combined with the modern technology being developed in the Soviet Union or can be used for industrialization in Japan and other Asian-Pacific nations, then new opportunities will be created for cooperation in production or in the processing of the abundant raw materials of the Far East. We expect to achieve such development in the near future—that is, within 15 to 20 years. And this will be the period most suited for promoting cooperation between our two countries. In this regard, we can say that the potentials have not yet been explored to the fullest and unknown potentials still exist.

The programs for economic reform in the Soviet Far East include a plan to shift from the production and primary processing of raw materials to the production of manufactured goods based on new technology, as well as the introduction of foreign funds for modernization in these fields. These programs have opened up chances for stable economic cooperation with Japan.

The plan to establish special economic zones was first announced by General Secretary Gorbachev in his speech in Krasnoyarsk. As a new form of cooperation, the plan has aroused great interest in the Soviet Union and in Japan as well. The government approved this plan last December, and conditions particularly favorable to foreign capital will be created in these zones. Regulations concerning the organization and financing of new joint ventures will be eased to a large extent. These zones will be established in the southern parts of Khabarovsk Oblast or other coastal oblasts. In the Soviet Far East, the pursuit of learning—particularly in economics—seeks to develop and stabilize good-neighborly and cooperative relations between the Soviet Union and Japan, as well as to strengthen mutual trust.

Scholars at the Economics Institute of the USSR ASFEB are making efforts to contribute to these programs. We have been engaged in extensive exchanges with Japanese scholars over a long period of time in this regard. We have been engaged in close exchanges with the Slavic Center at the University of Hokkaido in particular. Symposiums have been held regularly either in the Soviet Far East or in Hokkaido. Documents have been published jointly with scholars in Hokkaido. We have also attended symposiums sponsored by scholars in the Kansai area. We have promoted cooperation with staff members of the Osaka University of Economics and Engineering.

Such exchanges, joint literary activities, or symposiums on issues of particular importance to Soviet-Japanese relations have promoted the establishment of friendly relations of trust. In other words, these efforts signify that a foundation for trust has been established. We should stop fearing each other and start trusting one another in the economic field. We should listen to the opinions of our partners; it is very important to know what they want and what complaints they have. In carrying out joint research with Japanese scholars, we have long been engaged in direct dialogue with them, and this dialogue has been of great benefit to us.

Consequently, it is delightful that the leaders of our two countries have begun a dialogue on fundamental and global factors of international relations. Correction of past conflicts may be promoted through the study of positions adopted by the two sides, as well as through the direct handling of various issues by the peoples of both the Soviet Union and Japan.

MPR Chief of Staff Interviewed on Army Cuts

PM2103103589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Lieutenant General Sh. Jadambaa, Mongolian first deputy defense minister, by TASS Ulaanbaatar correspondent Kim Boldokhonov: "Today Is Mongolian People's Army Day. 'I Believe in the Strength of Good Traditions'"; date of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] On 18 March it will be 68 years since the formation of the Mongolian People's Army. The birthday of the Mongolian People's Army is also being celebrated by the servicemen of the Soviet Armed Forces.

On the eve of the Mongolian People's Army anniversary, the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial office asked the TASS Ulaanbaatar correspondent to meet and talk with

1986-1990 period it is expected that Soviet-Korean trade turnover will increase to R8 billion. These figures are impressive. But what specifically lies behind them?

Our country buys magnesium clinker, cement, sewn goods, ferrous and nonferrous metals, car batteries, and other products from the DPRK. We supply to North Korea industrial equipment, trucks, and such important raw materials for the DPRK as oil and cotton.

Some 70 projects have now been built in the DPRK with the Soviet Union's help. In total they produce over one-fourth of the country's industrial output. First and foremost they produce electricity (63 percent), which the republic needs especially acutely, oil products and coal (50 percent), steel (one-third), and cloth (one-fifth). In other words, the foundation of bilateral economic cooperation has simultaneously become the foundation of our Far Eastern neighbor's national economy.

Forty years is a short time in which to learn how to work fruitfully—hand-in-hand, so to speak. That is why, looking back today on the path of economic and cultural cooperation traveled by the two countries, I think it would be useful to reflect on whether all our many years of cooperation have been the way we would like them to have been and whether all reserves have been utilized.

Soviet-Korean economic cooperation specialists with whom I met in Moscow and here in Pyongyang mentioned a few of the most important problems hampering the further development of our ties. These include, on the one hand, the "gross output" approach in developing our cooperation, and, on the other hand, the qualitative lag in the actual forms of bilateral cooperation with regard to current demands. These, so to speak, are the superficial points—those that should be reassessed today.

There are opportunities for deepening Soviet-Korean ties in all spheres. This was noted by USSR and DPRK leaders during the 1986 Moscow summit. The whole series of agreements signed a few years ago, under which the USSR gives its neighbor assistance in modernizing old industrial installations and constructing new projects, is confirmation of that. This means, above all, the construction of North Korea's first nuclear power station, several textile combines, the East Pyongyang Heat and Electric Power Station, and other important projects.

New forms of cooperation such as the creation of joint ventures are now being developed. For instance, in the near future Nakhodka, Vladivostok, Frunze, and Moscow should see the opening of Korean restaurants.

Interest in the Far East, and Korea in particular, is increasing in our country with every passing year; that is a well known fact. And it is gratifying that the range of mutual contacts at the cultural level is very extensive. It covers cooperation between moviemakers, exchanges between music collectives, and the holding of festivals. It is difficult but also unnecessary to quantify cultural cooperation. Someone said that culture is, above all, the key to understanding another nation and, consequently, to bringing peoples closer together and strengthening friendship between them.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Troops Clear Jalalabad-Kabul Highway

LD2003204889 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Excerpt] The foreign minister of Afghanistan, 'Abdul Wakil, has announced government troops on Monday managed to clear the highway connecting Kabul and Jalalabad of rebels. This made it possible to dispatch large consignments of food and ammunition from the capital to the adminstrative center of Nangarhar Province for the forces defending Jalalabad. [passage omitted]

'Heavy Fighting' in Jalalabad Reported

LD2103105889 Moscow TASS in English 1054 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 21 TASS—Heavy fighting for the eastern Afghan city of Jalalabad has been going on over the past twenty four hours. Intransigent opposition groups again fired more than four thousand rockets, artillery and mortar shells on the city, killing one civilian and wounding seven, among them women and children. The losses of government troops were two men killed and five wounded, the BAKHTAR News Agency reported.

The government troops' artillery fire neutralised three rocket launchers, three mortars, two recoilless rifles and an anti-aircraft gun mount. During the fighting the insurgents lost 25 men killed and 45 wounded. Twenty extremists were taken prisoner by Afghan security personnel.

According to reports from Qandahar Province, eleven insurgents have been killed and five wounded in Makwan Kalay area, a large amount of weapons has been captured, and 28 weapon emplacements neutralised.

The oppositionists are busy distributing fake money, seeking to aggravate the already hard economic situation in a number of areas of the country. On Monday personnel of the Afghan Ministry of State Security seized a batch of fake banknotes to a sum of 200,000 Afghanis. The perpetrators of the subversive action were arrested and are under investigation.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry sent another three notes to the UN Good Offices Mission (UNGOMAP) in Kabul, giving an irrefutable evidence of the violation of the provisions of the Geneva agreements by Pakistan.

Lieutenant General Sh. Jadambaa, Mongolian first deputy defense minister and chief of the Mongolian Armed Forces General Staff. We hereby publish a transcript of the conversation. [passage omitted]

[Boldokhonov] A few days ago the MPRP Central Committee and the Mongolian Government adopted a decision to reduce the size of the Mongolian People's Army. What measures are being taken to resettle the servicemen released from the Army?

[Jadambaa] It is true that our party and the government have found it possible to reduce the personnel of the Armed Forces in 1989-1990 by 13,000 men and to remove a considerable quantity of armored equipment from the arsenal and hand it over to the national economy.

This decision is a manifestation of the consistent peace policy implemented by the Mongolian People's Republic and represents a real contribution to joint efforts to broaden trust and cooperation between the peoples of Asia and the Pacific region and to strengthen the cause of peace.

The withdrawal, at the request of the republic's government, of 75 percent of the Soviet forces stationed in our country, which is to begin this year, serves the same noble aims.

Our ministry has, in cooperation with the competent departments, drawn up and submitted to the government a draft document in which all the aforementioned questions are reflected. It contains proposals on amending the provisions governing servicemen's pensions and makes provision for the payment of a lump sum to servicemen, taking into account the length of their service and the size of their families. It also makes provision for preferential treatment in the provision of housing to servicemen. Former servicemen who express a desire to work in livestock raising and some other sectors of the national economy will be able to draw full pay in addition to their army pensions. The document also pays attention to questions concerning a continuous work record.

I would like to emphasize that the military doctrine of our country is purely defensive and consonant with the Warsaw Pact countries' defensive doctrine. In light of the MPRP decisions, our task is to ensure that we have a sufficiently powerful, well trained, low-cost Army for the reliable defense of our motherland's security.

The Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states have deemed it possible to unilaterally reduce their armed forces. The Mongolian people, together with the peoples of all continents, expect from the United States and its allies corresponding specific measures aimed at disarmament and the development of international cooperation. [passage omitted]

Yazov Greets Mongolia's Yondon on Army Jubilee

PM2003141589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Mar 89 First Edition p 1

[Message from USSR Defense Minister Army General D. Yazov to Mongolian counterpart on occasion of Mongolian People's Army anniversary]

[Text] To Colonel General Comrade Jamsrangiyn Yondon, minister of defense of the Mongolian People's Republic.

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and myself, I personally send you and all Mongolian servicemen fraternal greetings and cordial congratulations on the 68th anniversary of the Mongolian People's Army.

Born in the fire of the revolutionary struggle, the Mongolian People's Army has, in close cooperation with the Soviet Armed Forces, traveled a glorious combat path and is today fulfilling with honor its patriotic duty in guarding the peaceful creative labor of the Mongolian people.

In the year of the glorious jubilee—the 50th anniversary of the victory over the Japanese imperialists at Halhaiin Gol River—I wish the servicemen of the Mongolian People's Army new successes in ensuring the high defense capability of their motherland and the entire socialist community.

May the fraternal friendship and combat cooperation between the peoples and the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic develop and strengthen!

With communist greetings,
Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister

USSR-DPRK Trade, 'Problems' Viewed

PM2103105189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 89 Second Edition p 6

[Correspondent S. Tikhomirov dispatch: "On a Mutual, Friendly Basis"]

[Text] Pyongyang—March 17 is a memorable day in Soviet-Korean relations. Exactly 40 years ago the USSR and the then still young republic in the northern part of the Korean Peninsula—the DPRK—signed an economic and cultural cooperation agreement. Thus was laid the first foundation stone for multifaceted ties between the two countries.

First a few figures. The USSR is the DPRK's largest foreign economic partner. It accounts for almost 40 percent of the DPRK's foreign trade turnover. Specialists have calculated that in just 2 years—1985 and 1986—reciprocal trade turnover grew 20 percent. In the

'Profound Disillusionment' of Jalalabad Rebels

LD2003233989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1830 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Excerpt] [No dateline as received] "According to reports reaching Kabul, the irreconcilable opposition has no desire whatsoever to come to terms with the obvious fact that the widely publicized "taking" of Jalalabad never happened. Fighters of the armed units of the two "Islamic parties of Afghanistan," headed by Hikmatyar and Khalis, and the "Islamic Unity Movement" of Sayyaf, which have come up against the organized defense of the defenders of the administrative center, are sustaining huge losses. In the past 3 days alone 1,500 men have been put out of action. The rebels are not being helped either by wide support from the 11th and 18th Divisions of the Pakistani Army, who are ensuring supplies of ammunition and fire cover for the advancing units, or by the participation in the fighting of the Pakistani militia and even soldiers from regular units. Young people from the age of 14 up are being selected in the Afghan refugee camps in the Peshawar region to make up the losses. When the bodies of 700 mujahidin were brought to the Khacha-Garhi, [spelling of place name as received] Nasirabad, and Warsak camps there were disturbances. Fat was poured on the fire by the news that the rebel leaders, fearing riots in the camps, stopped moving the bodies from the battlefield, informing relatives that they had supposedly been "lost without a trace." Hospitals in the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan, including the Peshawar region, are filled with the wounded. Recruiting of all males from ages 14 to 50 is being carried out among the refugees leaving Nangarhar, who are being sent back to take part in the fighting.

The high morale of the men defending Jalalabad is apparent, as is the profound disillusionment among the mujahidin with the actions of their "spiritual fathers" from the Peshawar parties, who undertook the unprepared offensive for Jalalabad and are continuing to throw more and more people into battle for the sake of achieving their political aims." [passage omitted]

'Pakistani-Afghan War' Seen in Jalalabad

LD2003143789 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Yuriy Kornilov commentary]

[Text] Moscow March 20 TASS—By TASS political analyst Yuriy Kornilov:

Don't the events around Jalalabad resemble more and more the makings of a Pakistani-Afghan war? This question is being asked with growing alarm by all those who are following the developments on the Afghan-Pakistani border. This anxiety is perfectly warranted and legitimate. It is quite obvious now that definite Islamabad quarters are drawing Pakistan increasingly into an open aggression against the neighbouring sovereign state.

If you follow the thread, you'll come to the clue, an old proverb says. That is exactly what's happening with Islamabad's policy. The leaders of Pakistan began violating them immediately after signing the accords by leaving intact rebel war bases and camps in Pakistani territory, by arming the extremists heavily. Under the pressure of militarists, who, unfortunately, still wield much power in Pakistan, this course was continued with growing outside support and became ever more pronounced, ever more defiant. The British FINANCIAL TIMES notes today with reference to evidence received from a number of the opposition's "field commanders" that the Pakistani military intelligence had prompted the "irreconcilables" to start large-scale military operations. And now the world sees how army units of Pakistan and detachments of its border tribal militia are exerting futile efforts to back their rebel friends in the march on Jalalabad.

Of course, Islamabad is aware of the worldwide public repercussions which might be triggered off, and are already being aroused by Pakistan's aggressive actions against Afghanistan. This is why the latter are being covered up by a dense propaganda smokescreen. Western news services are these days publishing a statement made by a spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of Pakistan, who claimed that his country did not perpetrate any armed interference in Afghan affairs. But how can these claims be reconciled with the participation of Pakistani units in attempts to capture Jalalabad? How can they be reconciled with evidence furnished by two agents of the Pakistani military intelligence, captured at Qandahar, who publicly confirmed this intervention?

"A settlement can be achieved only in keeping with the will of the Afghan people", the spokesman stated. And this is perfectly correct. However, the Afghan people are strongly opposed to attempts made by outside forces, which are violating the Geneva accords signed by Pakistan, among others, forces that have turned Afghanistan into an object of aggression, to export to Jalalabad or Kabul a "government", knocked together under their aegis. Both the Afghans and international public demand an end to aggression, demand that a military outbreak in the region be prevented.

Opposition 'Sacrilege,' Diplomatic Efforts Viewed

PM2003124189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA Press Service report: "Afghanistan: What the Pakistani Ghulam Ishaq Is Doing in Nangarhar Province"]

[Text] As TASS correspondents report from Kabul, armed formations of the irreconcilable opposition and their Pakistani mentors are being pushed back further and further from Jalalabad. At the same time, the insurgents are continuing their large-scale shelling of the administrative center of Nangarhar Province. In the past 24 hours alone around 5,000 missiles, shells, and mortars have hit the city.

UPI reports that hand-to-hand fighting for the strategic bridge across the River Behsud is in progress a few kilometers from Jalalabad. The rebels regard this region as an important bridgehead for a possible second offensive against Jalalabad. At present, agencies report from Kabul, all strategic points in and around Jalalabad are in the government army's hands.

According to information from prisoners, four U.S. advisers and one Saudi adviser have died in the fighting, AFP reports, citing government officials, although this report has not been confirmed by other sources. IZVESTIYA has already reported that two U.S. instructors died in the fighting last week, according to the information of captured mujahidin taken to Kabul. A Pentagon spokesman has denied this and pointed out that "there are no U.S. military advisers in Afghanistan," REUTER says. The U.S. State Department has expressed the opinion that the dead men could have been "two U.S. journalists who accidentally came under fire" in the battle region.

Today the editorial office received a report from Kabul which says that after the rebels retreated from the outskirts of Jalalabad, government troops discovered 17 decapitated bodies on the battlefield. Judging by their clothing, the dead men were foreign advisers. Let us note here that under Muslim law such a crime is a terrible sacrilege because the Koran states that the soul of a decapitated man cannot enter heaven.

In the European press recently there have been an increasing number of reports confirming that Pakistan is taking measures to restrict the mass media's access to the regions where the rebels are operating to hide the true state of affairs in the Jalalabad area as well as the scale of Pakistani military interference. This is reported in particular in the newspaper ILTA-LEHTI by Finnish journalist M. Leikola.

Ghulam Ishaq is a 20-year old soldier and a keen boxer, and after the army wants to continue studying. Recently, however, M. Leikola met and talked with this serviceman on the territory of... neighboring Afghanistan. In other words, where, according to the statements of Pakistani authorities, he should not have been.

Using an identification card in the name of armed opposition member Murad Ali, M. Leikola traveled with a group of rebels into Afghan territory from 1 through 5 March this year. During that time the group visited several opposition camps where M. Leikola saw dozens of Pakistani military advisers. He became acquainted with Ghulam Ishaq at the Harakat group's camp in the Khowst region approximately 20 km from the Pakistani border. Ishaq and four of his comrades lived in a separate tent. Their commander confirmed that they are Pakistani Army soldiers but at the same time refused to say what the purpose of their presence on Afghan soil was.

In another camp, not far from the first one, there were five large tents where up to a company of Pakistani military servicemen were quartered. The Pakistanis claimed that they are only teaching the Afghans to handle grenade launchers and other weapons, although the Finnish journalist wrote that in his 2 days in the camp he didn't once see Afghans go near the grenade launchers or guns. All the servicing of the military hardware was done by Pakistanis. And during the shelling of Afghan targets virtually no one remained in the camp. It therefore appears highly likely that the Pakistanis themselves may have been doing the firing.

At the same time as the Pakistani military is expanding the scale of its interference in Afghanistan, Islamabad is taking steps to secure the recognition of the mujahidin "transitional government" by the Muslim countries. Pakistani Foreign Minister Yaqub Khan among others has urged the Islamic Conference to offer the Government of Afghanistan's vacant place in that international organization to the armed opposition.

AFP reports that a meeting has taken place in Pakistan between S. Mujadeddi, "president" of the "transitional government," and the French and British envoys in Islamabad. It is the first time, the agency stresses, that diplomats from those European states have officially met and talked with the leader of the Afghan armed opposition based in Pakistan.

The rebels' diplomatic offensive is being conducted in tandem with the preparation of new terrorist actions. It is reported from Kabul that on Wednesday evening security staffers discovered two caches of explosives. The lethal consignments, each containing 40 kg of TNT, had been placed at bus stops near a densely populated residential district as well as next to a large movie theater in the Afghan capital.

Stop the presses. When this report was being prepared we received two further reports providing evidence of the scale of the rebels' crimes on Afghan territory. The first report points out that several dozen servicemen of the Afghan Army captured by opposition formations were shot on the orders of a man called Khoseyn [name as transliterated], who belongs to the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan." Three of the soldiers who by chance survived managed to reach Kabul and described what happened to their comrades-in-arms in a cave in Shiveh District in Nangarhar Province.

On a mountain trail in that province the bodies of around 100 Afghan soldiers have been discovered: They had voluntarily switched to the mujahidin side, the other report says. But cutthroats from Y. Khalis' group (the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan") hacked them to pieces and burned their bodies. Eyewitnesses to this atrocity included a number of Western journalists, but so far no information on the mujahidin crime has appeared in the Western press.

Afghan Forces Capture Arms in Kabul Area

LD2003200889 Moscow TASS in English 1940 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 20 TASS—A crime of extremists has been prevented by officials of the Ministry of State Security of the Republic of Afghanistan who discovered 700 kg of explosives, ten magnetic mines, firearms and ammunition, as well as subversive literature, in one of the districts of the Afghan capital on Monday.

On the same day, units of the Kabul garrison in Hake Jabar [place name as received], Kabul Province, deactivated 22 rockets of "ground-to-ground" class trained on residential quarters of the Afghan capital. Three of the rockets were of U.S. make.

On the same day security bodies discovered eight kg of TNT on a bridge in a densely populated area of Kabul.

Pakistan's charge d'affaires was called to the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan on Monday and a resolute protest was made to him over continued acts of outright aggression against Afghanistan. It is, specifically, noted in the protest that on March 17 and 18, 250 Pakistani tribal militiamen and 150 servicemen of the Pakistani Army, wearing Afghan uniforms, were rushed into the area of agricultural farm Ghaziabad in Nangarhar Province to support units of irreconcilable opposition storming the city of Jalalabad. There are nine U.S., Pakistani and Saudi military instructors in these groups. Making a protest to Pakistan over gross violations of generally-recognised international legal norms and of provisions of the Geneva accords, the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan demanded an end to acts of aggression, the responsibility for whose dangerous consequences will rest wholly on the Pakistani side.

Najibullah Urges Opposition To Enter Dialogue

LD2003232489 Moscow TASS in English 2152 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 21 TASS—Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, made an address to the nation over national television on Monday in connection with the New Year even according to the Muslim calendar.

"The past year has been a year of heavy trials and important events in the life of our state", the Afghan leader said. "It was marked by important political and social changes in the life of the Afghan society, by decisive and steady implementation of the policy of national reconciliation.

"The signing of the Geneva accords has been one of the main events of the outgoing year. Its provisions have been observed unswervingly by Afghanistan. In accordance with their spirit and their letter, the Soviet Union withdrew its troops from the Afghan territory.

"At the same time, in order to end senseless bloodshed and fratricide, the Afghan Government has implemented a number of direct and indirect contacts with representatives of 'The Seven-Party' and 'Eight-Party' opposition alliances, with European and American politicians.

"It has alloted places in parliament for representatives of the opposition who would wish to participate in rebuilding the war-ravaged country. Every necessary condition has been ensured for the creation of a broad-based coalition government. The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan made peaceful initiatives in the international arena, specifically, made proposals for Afghanistan's demilitarisation.

"But the irreconcilable opposition has not given a positive answer to these constructive steps. It continued the bloodshed to which hundreds of innocent Afghans fell victim. It has earlier been using the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan as a pretext for the continuation of war. Now that not a single Soviet soldier remains on Afghan soil it continues combat operations and aggravates them by the economic war against its own people. In these conditions the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan has been compelled to take resolute measures by proclaiming the state of emergency in Afghanistan.

"Otherwise the opposition could have inflicted considerable manpower and material losses on us", Najibullah said. "It is precisely due to the introduction of the state of emergency all over the country that many tonnes of explosives, a large number of missiles, mines and other deadly weapons have been discovered in the Afghan capital, attempts to attack Kabul have been averted. The Armed Forces of the republic have rebuffed the advance of rebels on Qandahar and are now heroically protecting Jalalabad, the administrative centre of the Nangarhar Province.

"The armed opposition stepped up its subversive activity considerably after Soviet troops have left Afghanistan. Groups of 'irreconsilable opposition' are now storming Jalalabad, raining the city with missiles, mines and shells. Units of tribal militiamen and of the Pakistani regular army take part in the hostilities on the side of the opposition.

"Supplying extremist groups with most up-to-date weapons, the Pakistani military send ever more units of rebels into the battle, using them virtually as cannon fodder on the Jalalabad front.

"But units of Armed Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan strongly supported by the local population, by units of volunteers formed of members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the democratic organization of youth of Afghanistan, heroically protect Afghanistan against encroachments on its sovereignty, territorial integrity and national independence.

"Striving to implement expansionist plans of the Pakistani military, to annex Afghanistan to Pakistan, the irreconcilable opposition proclaimed its own government, so to say, in Rawalpindi. But being aware of its weakness, it has not even dared to hold a meeting of its Consultative Council, 'shura' in Peshawar or in Quetta, where Pashtuns, Baluchis and Afghan refugees reside, and chose a safer place for it, the Punjab state.

" 'The government' and 'shura' of opposition Afghan groups do not enjoy support of Afghans residing in the country and abroad, and even of commanders of opposition units operating in the territory of the Republic of Afghanistan and leaders of the 'Eight-Party' alliance based in Iran", the president said.

Najibullah made a call to field commanders of opposition units to end senseless bloodshed for whose continuation there are no pretexts now and to give a rebuff to the Pakistani military encroaching on Afghanistan's independence.

The president of the Republic of Afghanistan urged the United Nations organization to give assistance in the implementation of the provisions of the Geneva accords that are fully ignored by Pakistan. For this purpose the Afghan leader suggested again that the UN Good Offices Mission for Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP) set up permanent posts of observation in Pakistani districts bordering on Afghanistan and that it should not remain indifferent to gross violations of the accords signed in Geneva.

Najibullah said that the Government of Afghanistan will continue to conduct a dialogue with the part of the opposition that does not want further bloodletting and will also be doing everyting in its power toward a peaceful political solution to the Afghan problem.

Najibullah Message Becomes UN Document

LD2003183189 Moscow TASS in English 1818 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] New York March 20 TASS—The message from Afghan President Najibullah addressed to UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar was circulated in the United Nations on Monday as a General Assembly and Security Council official document.

The Afghan leader's message informs the United Nations of the explosive situation around his country. The message says in part that the Pakistani Government's irresponsible policy aimed at continued bloodshed and intensified military interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs poses a serious threat, with unpredictable consequences to peace and stability in the region. The message charges Pakistan with violating the Geneva accords.

Najibulah also says that the U.S. stance is in no way conducive to ensuring peace and stability in and around Afghanistan.

The mesage requests the UN to use its potential and authority to preclude further deterioration of the situation and call upon all the sides to undeviatingly fulfill their obligations under the Geneva accords.

The present situation calls for taking immediate measures, Afghan president stresses.

The message expresses confidence that the UN secretary-general will be able to play an important role in defusing the explosive situation.

Afghan Pashto Leader Criticizes Pakistan

PM2103104789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "There Is No Justification For Interference; Pashto Figure's Interview With THE NATION Newspaper"]

[Text] Islamabad, 17 Mar—"We are playing with fire." Under this headline the Lahore newspaper THE NATION has published an interview with the eminent Pashto figure Abdul Wali Khan, chairman of the People's National Party, in which he sharply criticizes Pakistan's complicity with the Afghan extremists.

We assess highly the fact that it was the Soviet Union that was the only country to fully accept the spirit and letter of the Geneva accords, implementing them scrupulously, he said. Since the Russians have left there is no justification for continuing to interfere in Afghanistan's internal affairs. The Pakistanis said that it was essential to give sanctuary to Afghan refugees because the Soviet occupation forced them to leave their motherland. The Russians have gone, but the refugees are not returning home. The Americans said that they supported the Afghan opposition because the Russians were in Afghanistan. The Russians have gone, but the Americans are not stopping their aid to the opposition.

Dwelling on the problems of the Afghan refugees in Pakistan, Abdul Wali Khan said: We ourselves created a problem that we will never be able to resolve. The refugees are 1 million armed people on our land, with a numerical strength even larger than our entire army. I see no means of forcing them to leave for home. We have let the genie out of the bottle and we do not know how to put it back. And moreover the government and the Americans want the flame of war in Afghanistan to continue to burn so the refugees cannot return home.

The Pashto figure stressed that the USSR supports the legitimate government of Afghanistan while the United States is promoting the kindling of civil war there. But what does Pakistan stand to gain here? What justification can be found for Pakistan's efforts to create an Afghan "shura" on our land? It is a dangerous precedent, he said. We are playing with fire. We are jeopardizing our national interests while protecting U.S. regional interests.

Abdul Wali Khan accused the Pakistani leadership of nullifying in practice the so-called "Durand line" adopted as the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan, inasmuch as armed groups are now crossing it in both directions. The newspaper reports that, addressing the Quetta press club, Abdul Wali Khan told journalists that with his own eyes he had seen near Kohat on the border with Afghanistan 35 trucks heading north with weapons and ammunition—an overt violation of the Geneva agreements by the Pakistani authorities. He also stressed that with the USSR's powerful support for the Kabul government, all attempts to remove it will end in failure.

Controversy Over 'Satanic Verses' Novel Viewed

PM1703095989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[A. Ivanko article under the rubric "We Report the Details": "Uproar Surrounding Rushdie"]

[Text] "We do not agree with this book. It is offensive to our society. We can also understand why people of the Muslim faith, which we respect, are outraged by what is said about their religion in this book. The only thing that connects us to this novel is our commitment to the principles of freedom of the press," British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Sir Geoffrey Howe said the other day. He was speaking in reference to the S. Rushdie novel "The Satanic Verses."

The situation that has arisen around S. Rushdie has made news headlines all over the world. Information agencies, newspapers, and journals are giving over their front pages to the conflict. IZVESTIYA has also written on the subject. Allow me to remind you that Islamic fundamentalists consider S. Rushdie's book "a sacrilege and an insult to millions of Muslims," while Ayatollah Khomeyni has called for the "death of the writer," refusing to reverse his decision even after an apology from Rushdie, who has now been forced to go into hiding under Scotland Yard protection somewhere in the British Isles. His telephone number is also unknown.

Diplomatic battles have also begun: EEC members have recalled their ambassadors from Iran "for consultations," and their example has been followed by Sweden and Canada. The Australian Government is also considering reducing the size of its diplomatic mission in Iran. In retaliation, Iran has also recalled its own ambassadors from these countries and broken off diplomatic relations with Britain. A statement has been issued by U.S. President G. Bush, who has supported the EEC countries' decision and warned Iran that it will be seen as "responsible for any attacks on U.S. interests."

So what is the book actually about? "The Satanic Verses" is a complex polyphonic novel, full of surrealist scenes, and switches from reality to fantasy, past to present.

The novel centers on two Indian Muslims trying to secretly emigrate to Britain. However, their aircraft crashes and the two heroes fall into the sea. Still alive, they turn first into spirits, then into angels. Their souls enter the most diverse people. One of the scenes in the novel describes life in a brothel—where the female representatives of the oldest profession, however, bear the names of the wives of the Prophet.

The way in which the novel should be interpreted was described by S. Rushdie himself in his letter to Rajiv Gandhi after "The Satanic Verses" was banned in India.

"The section of the book which has upset everyone (but allow me to remind you that the novel is not about Islam, but about migration, metamorphoses, the division of the personality, love, death, London, and Bombay) is about a prophet (whose name is not Muhammad), who lives in a fantastic city made of sand. Moreover, this subject is developed in the dream of the hero I invented, an Indian movie actor. Is it really possible to interpret all this as a historical description? In this dream, I wanted to show my own interpretation of the phenomenon of the revelation and birth of the great world religions; my opinion is the opinion of a man for whom religious culture (in this case, Islam), which had a very complex birth, plays an important role in life."

Public readings of the novel are now being held in the United States so people are aware of why the conflict has arisen. Leading American writers, such as Norman Mailer, Joyce Carol Oates, E.L. Doctorow, Susan Sontag, and many others have spoken in the writer's defense. Demonstrations in support of Rushdie have been staged in New York, Washington, Boston, San Francisco, and Chicago. A number of bookstores, fearful of attacks by fanatics, have removed the book from their window displays and stopped selling it, but, under pressure from the public, are now reviewing their position. Book trader B. Dalton has said that he will return the book to his shelves. A statement has been issued by the Islamic Society of North America which, while condemning the "death sentence" against Rushdie, has urged all bookstores to remove the novel from their shelves, nevertheless.

Many agencies are asking the question: Why has Tehran taken such an uncompromising stand? The foreign press is voicing various opinions on this score. UPI has written: "Hardline supporters opposed to reconciliation between Iran and the West are trying to influence Khomeyni. The publication of the book has furnished them with an excellent pretext for whipping up an anti-Western campaign. In this sense, Khomeyni's recent statement is seen by observers as a victory for hardline supporters among the divided Iranian clergy."

As for the reaction of public opinion in the West, according to the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, this concern "is not on the list of Khomeyni's chief priorities."

The world public is expressing concern over the situation. In the opinion of many observers, if the conflict is not settled, the situation in a number of countries could be destabilized. This is confirmed by the bloody Muslim demonstrations in India and Pakistan, as a result of which more than 20 people have died.

The IZVESTIYA editorial office has recently received letters and telegrams from Soviet citizens, in which they write that calls for the "execution" of the writer run counter to the norms of international law and the principles of humanity.

During his visit to Tehran, the Soviet Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze told the Iranian leadership that the Soviet Union is also concerned about the situation that has arisen over the novel.

YAR Envoy Marks Friendship Treaty Anniversary

LD2103000589 Moscow TASS in English 2125 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 20 TASS—"Links between the Yemeni Arab Republic and the Soviet Union are of great importance not only for their bilateral relations, but also for the normalization of the Middle East situation in general", said Ambassador Muhammad 'Abd al-'Uthman.

He was speaking at a function devoted to the twenty-fifth anniversary of the signing of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

The ambassador noted that at present, when restructuring is underway in the Soviet Union and in international relations, new opportunities are emerging for settling disputes in various regions, including Middle East, for which purpose a Middle East peaceful conference should be convened as soon as possible.

"The 1964 treaty must only be considered within the context of entire Soviet-North Yemeni relations", the ambassador pointed out. "It marked a regular stage between the first agreement of 1928 and the last one signed in the course of Yemeni President 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih's visit to the Soviet Union in 1984", Muhammad said.

Soviet engineers and physicians who did their spell in Yemen told the audience at the function of their contribution to the construction of a new life in the Middle East country.

Soviet engineers helped establish the first state farm in the Yemeni Arab Republic. At present a complex consisting of twelve small-scale dams is being put up to ensure provision of fresh water supplies.

Apart from these, Soviet and Yemeni engineers are now engaged in designing a large-scale dam, Serafim Golubev, spokesman for the Soviet Ministry of Land Melioration and Irrigation told the gathering. Himself an engineer, he had conducted hydrological work in the Arab republic.

Professor Vsevolod Galkin, department head at (?Moscow's) Medical College, who worked in Yemen in early 1960, said in his address that training physicians for Yemen and conducting joint research work constituted a major sector in Soviet-Yemeni cooperation.

"Bilateral medical ties that have been in existence since 1928 are a major factor for promoting mutual understanding between the two nations", Professor Galkin said.

Indian CP Leader Urges Indian Communist Unity

PM2003143389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 89 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Aim Is Unity"]

[Text] Delhi, 15 Mar—The Communist Party of India [CPI] regards its main task as being to struggle for unity within the country's communist movement and reinforce the ranks of leftist and secularist forces. Rajeswara Rao, general secretary of the CPI National Council, said this at a press conference in Calcutta.

The CPI leadership, he pointed out, has submitted proposals to the Communist Party of India-Marxist [CPI-M] on broadening interparty cooperation and creating committees to coordinate this cooperation at district and state level. The attainment of an accord between the CPI and CPI-M on a joint struggle to defend the unity of the people of India, the territorial integrity of the republic, and working people's vital interests would make it possible to increase the influence of leftist forces within the states.

Rajeswara Rao stressed that unity between the communist parties is inseparable from the movement for unity among all India's leftist organizations that oppose fundamentalists' intrigues and internal reaction.

Algeria Renewal Proceeding at 'Breakneck Speed'

PM2003115789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 89 Second Edition p 7

[Correspondent S. Filatov dispatch: "Path of Renewal. Creation of Multiparty System in Algeria"]

[Text] Algiers, 16 Mar—The renewal of Algeria's political life is under way at breakneck speed. Back in November last year the only legal party in the country—the National Liberation Front [FLN]—was transformed by the decision of its congress into an organization that would unite all the nation's patriotic forces in its ranks. The organization's name will remain the same—the FLN.

A February referendum approved the new Constitution, one of whose provisions envisages activities by political associations. This is seen as opening the way to a multiparty system, and parties have started springing up in a country where none had been registered. In the last few weeks alone the press has reported the creation of the Social Democratic party, the Islamic Salvation Front, the Democratic Forces Alliance, and the Socialist Workers Organization. The Marxist Socialist Vanguard Party, which is increasingly mentioned in the local press, is actively making its presence felt.

Under the conditions of the population's growing social activeness and the creation of new political parties and associations, the country's major political force, the FLN, is determining its role and place in these dynamic processes.

For a long time the FLN has been the leading ruling organization, until recently called the "FLN Party." Following the Sixth Congress' decision to reform the party into a mass organization, the FLN has been modifying its activity in accordance with the new conditions. A widespread campaign has begun to attract new members and renew local organs. At the same time, numerous meetings are being held to discuss elements of the future political program. According to A. Mehri, general secretary of the FLN Central Committee, the front intends to draw up a "platform or political program" that will be submitted for examination by an extraordinary congress within the next few months.

Proposals to possibly resurrect the FLN Party were aired during the debates. Questions of what means to employ to strengthen the organization's influence to ensure that it retains its leading role under the conditions of a multiparty system were examined. The APS news agency writes: "The FLN feels the need to return the faith of its members and find a topical slogan to mobilize the masses." The FLN leadership is calling on the organization's members to defend the country's supreme interests and effectively attract workers, peasants, representatives of other sectors of society, and "all the nation's healthy forces" to its front ranks.

The position of the army in the prevailing situation is typical. At a reception with President C. Bendjedid, the leaders of the armed forces announced that they would request to be relieved of their duties as members of the FLN Central Committee. The army, in their words, stands apart from political debates. Supporting the right to create political associations, at the same time it does not consider it possible to participate in the complex interplay of different political trends. In order to carry out its duty in defending the nation's supreme interests, the army—as the guarantor of independence—should maintain unity in its ranks and discipline, representatives of the high command stated.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Joint Commission Begins Session on Namibia

Delegation Arrives in Havana

LD2003085789 Moscow TASS in English 0838 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Havana March 20 TASS - A Soviet delegation led by Ambassador at large Vyacheslav Ustinov arrived here on Sunday to attend the second session of the joint commission for supervision over a settlement in the south-west of Africa. The session opens in the Cuban capital today.

A U.S. delegation led by Chester Crocker, U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, arrived in Havana by air on Sunday. The Soviet Union and the United States participate as observers in the work of the joint commission.

The Angolan delegation led by Venancio de Moura, deputy foreign minister of that country, has been in Havana since Friday. A South African delegation is expected to arrive shortly.

The aims of the joint commission is to analyse the implementation of the agreements which the three countries signed to resolve the protracted regional conflict.

Representatives of Angola, Cuba, and South Africa had signed a tripartite agreement at the U.N. Headquarters in New York in December last year on a settlement of the situation in the south-west of Africa.

The document which was the result of long and difficult talks opened the way for the implementation of U.N. Resolution 435 on the granting of independence to Namibia. Pretoria undertook to discontinue armed aggression against Angola. Cuba and Angola, for their part, signed an agreement on a stage-by-stage withdrawal of Cuban servicemen-internationalists from Angola.

Talks 'Constructive, Businesslike'

LD2103091889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0418 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Havana, 21 Mar (TASS)—TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kanishchev reports:

The second session of the joint commission to supervise a settlement in southwest Africa that is going on behind closed doors opened on Monday in the Cuban capital. [passage omitted]

The officials taking part in the work of the second session of the joint commission in Havana have assessed the results of the first day of sittings favorably. In conversations with a TASS correspondent, they described the style of work of the delegations as constructive and businesslike. The session participants, Vyacheslav Ustinov noted, are discussing the details of progress in the fulfilment of the tripartite agreement. There are problems too—particularly an upsurge of mutual mistrust—however, they are gradually being overcome. As a whole, it can be stated that all sides are striving to find a way to resolve these problems.

Burkina Faso Delegation Visits 14-20 Mar

LD2003231589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1427 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Excerpt] Moscow, 20 Mar (TASS)—Problems of international development and the situation in southern Africa and other matters were discussed during meetings in Moscow between Burkinabe and Soviet representatives.

A delegation from the Burkina Faso National Coordinating Committee for Popular Structures was in the USSR 14-20 March at the invitation of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity With the Countries of Asia and Africa. Participants in the talks emphasized support for the right of every people to choose forms and methods of struggle, including armed struggle.

The sides reaffirmed readiness to continue cooperation, including exchange of delegations and information about each other's activities, the giving of grants for higher education to the Burkinabe side, and the organizing of short training assignments for Burkinabe journalists in the USSR. [passage omitted]

Cultural Cooperation Agreement Signed in Lagos

LD1803114989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1430 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Excerpt] Lagos, 17 Mar (TASS)—A broad exchange between Nigeria and the USSR of collectives of artists, teachers and lecturers, delegations of writers and cinematographers, books, films, and exhibitions of works of art is envisaged by an intergovernment program for cooperation in the field of culture and education for the period 1989-90, signed in Lagos today. [passage omitted]

Academician Examines Cooperation With Africa

LD1803111589 Moscow in Portuguese to Africa 1800 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Interview with Professor Nikolay Kosukhin of the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given—recorded, in Russian with superimposed Portuguese translation]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Kosukhin] The present situation on the African Continent is widely known, and I will not repeat data that has been publicized so often. I will only point out that, in the present conditions, the measures proposed by the USSR for the liquidation of Africa's debts are but one of the benefits that the developing countries can derive from the principles of the newly emerging relationship between the captialist and socialist countries. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] There are people in Africa who fear that the USSR might reconsider its support and start scaling down cooperation with its African partners. To what extent are such fears justified?

[Kosukhin] In this connection I would point to the Soviet leader's statement that the interests shared by the whole of mankind do not invalidate a class attitude. Thus the national liberation movements will remain within the sphere of our interested attention. Moreover, we take the view that it is precisely in the Third World countries that a huge potential exists for the implementation of the new political mentality. One of the principles of the latter is the freedom of political choice, and this arises with the greatest acuity precisely with regard to the newly liberated countries.

The USSR is against anyone exploiting a chosen path of development as a pretext for military or economic pressures. We favor the existence of a multiplicity of development options. In Africa's specific conditions the success of a given policy is gauged, first and foremost, on the basis of what people have to eat, what they wear, how much they earn, and what they can purchase with their earnings. It is obvious that any new government must pursue a policy that ensures the raising of workers' living standards. At the same time it is also dangerous to toe the line of the capitalist countries, which offer generous economic aid with one hand and, with the other, reap political dividends.

[Correspondent] In the existing conditions Africa expected—and continues to expect—the socialist countries to remain a counterweight to the West's continuing expansion. At the same time it seems to me that there is a fear in the African countries that, as a result of the economic reforms in the socialist countries, with the decentralization of economic management and the free participation of enterprises and cooperatives from the socialist countries in the world market, economic cooperation with Africa might be reduced. Will Africa not emerge the loser? Will its interests not be harmed as a result of our restructuring?

[Kosukhin] Let me firmly reject that view. One of the characteristic traits of the new political thinking is precisely the stepping up of cooperation and the raising of its effectiveness with the developing world, Africa included. I will not again get into the question of the prospects opened up by the process of disarmament which has begun—disarmament for development—as the 27th CPSU Congress formulated one of the tasks of Soviet foreign policy. Instead I will broach another aspect.

Unfortunately, many of the joint projects undertaken by the USSR in African countries suffer when one compares their efficiency with Western ones. What is the reason for this? First and foremost the deficient knowledge of our economists and technologists and their ignorance of African realities. On the other hand, their dogmatic attitudes and attempts to transplant their own experiences also rendered a disservice to the ideals of socialism on the African Continent. The restructuring that has commenced in the USSR provides a way out of the application of schemes by rote and liberates the individual, making specific persons answerable for the development of relations with this or that African country. Initiative is given ample room for maneuver, and therefore I believe that the effects of restructuring in the Soviet departments in charge of foreign economic relations will not be long in coming.

There is thus great potential for Soviet-African cooperation. The search for new forms, the autonomy given to state enterprises, and the democratization of Soviet society will undoubtedly contribute to the widening of our cooperation with Africa. [passage omitted]

Agreement Signed With Liberian News Agency

LD2103000689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1454 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Excerpt] Moscow, 20 Mar, (TASS)—An agreement was signed in Moscow today between the telegraph agency of the Soviet Union (TASS) and the Liberian News Agency (LINA). The agreement envisages, in particular, a broad exchange of information; the creation of agency correspondents' centers in the capitals of the two countries; technical provision of lines of communications by TASS; and the professional training of LINA technicians in the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

East Europe

Hungary's Grosz To Visit 23-24 March

LD2003130189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1233 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 20 March, (TASS)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, will pay a working visit to the Soviet Union 23-24 March, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said at a briefing here today. He noted that this visit was part of the traditional, regular consultations between leaders of the CPSU and the MSZMP. In the course of the meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, particular attention will be paid to the exchange of experience and information about topical problems of building socialism in both countries and the development of cooperation in all spheres. Matters of international politics will also be discussed.

Grosz Cited on Commitment to Warsaw Pact

PM2003140589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 89 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "K. Grosz Speech"]

[Text] Budapest, 16 Mar—Hungary welcomes the improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations and the expansion of East-West dialogue, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP, stated today in a speech at the 81st Interparliamentary Union Conference in Budapest.

Pointing to Hungary's desire to implement new thinking in foreign and military policy, the Hungarian party leader expressed the hope that, given a favorable international situation in the foreseeable future, it will be possible to further reduce the country's armed forces and step up their defensive nature.

Hungary, he stressed, advocates cooperation with the socialist countries on a new footing. Reciprocal respect for each other's independence and complete equality of rights and interests are mandatory conditions for this. It is necessary to cherish the mutual advantages afforded by the system of relations within CEMA, raising them to the level of the demands of the time by creating interest, applying commodity-money relations, and changing the financial system. CEMA restructuring will only be successful if it takes place on the basis of intensive integration into the world economy.

Hungary, the speaker stressed, will remain a member of the Warsaw Pact for as long as there are military blocs in Europe. At the same time, it is prepared to act as a partner in any efforts aimed at eliminating military-political systems of alliances.

Hungarian Anniversary Celebrations Described

PM2103102989 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 89 p 3

[Report by own correspondent A. Kaverznev: "Light and Dark Sides of the Celebration"]

[Text] Budapest—How much gossip there was about this celebration, how many incredible rumors! Whichever Hungarians you spoke to, you always detected a note of concern in their voices. How did the alternative organizations intend to celebrate? Would there not be disturbances? Now that 15 March is behind us, we can say that Hungary fittingly greeted its main national celebration.

So why all the doubts and jittery nerves? It is very simple. March 15—the anniversary of the beginning of the anti-Hapsburg revolution of 1848-1849, a day associated in the heart of every Hungarian with a struggle for freedom and democracy, a day of national awareness—has been made an official holiday for the first time in the country's history. For the first time, no one went to work on 15 March, whereas 7 November will now be a working day, as in many other socialist countries. March 15 has been celebrated in Hungary before, of course. Ceremonial meetings and youth demonstrations involving thousands were organized, and people literally heaped flowers on the memorials to Sandor Petofi, Lajos Kossuth, Jozef Bem, and other inspirers and organizers of the liberation struggle. But they tried to give the celebrations the appearance of being exclusive to young people. It must also be pointed out that 15 March rarely passed without clashes between students and the police, particularly in the seventies.

It is also time to frankly admit that this celebration, to put it mildly, is certainly not imbued with sympathy for our country, and not just because the Hungarian revolution in the last century was crushed with the most active, direct participation of tsarist troops under the command of General Paskevich. There are other reasons stemming from the not so distant history. These were recalled by Rezso Nyers, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and Hungarian minister of state, when addressing a rally on Wednesday in the park in front of the National Museum: "We experienced a period between 1948 and 1956 when Hungarian policy was directed from Moscow and when, after 1968, the Brezhnev leadership sowed antireformist moods in Eastern Europe, trying to paralyze the independent Hungarian policy of reforms." What was, was.

But let us return to Hungarian affairs. Several months before the celebration, the MSZMP, People's Patriotic Front, and Hungarian Communist Youth League appealed to social organizations to celebrate the day together and to demonstrate the nation's unity and readiness to follow a path of reforms, democratization, and progress. Some organizations, including the Social Democratic Party and the Independent Party of Smallholders, responded to the appeal. Others, including the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Union of Free Democrats, and the Union of Young Democrats decided to celebrate separately. Their argument was that they did not want to demonstrate unity with the MSZMP and take responsibility for the communists' mistaken policies of past years. Consequently, some people feared that these individual demonstrations would develop into clashes and disturbances. In some cities, "official" and opposition organizations held joint demonstrations nevertheless.

On the morning of 15 March, state and government leaders laid wreaths at the Kossuth memorial in the square in front of the parliament building. This was followed by an "official" demonstration in front of the National Museum, where tens of thousands of people had gathered. Close to midday, when the rally was over, they moved on to 15 March Square, where the leaders of alternative organizations spoke from a rostrum by the Petofi memorial. Then, spreading out through the side-streets of Belvaros, the crowd made for the Hungarian television building, from whose steps an appeal was read on behalf of a number of independent organizations. "What does the Hungarian nation want? Real popular representation and a multiparty system. A rule-of-law state. Rational economic activity, a functioning market, and an economy with different forms of ownership."

There were no disturbances. The organizers themselves efficiently regulated the movement of the crowd. People came as families, with their children. Slogans? In many cases, it seems to me, the alternative organizations were forcing an open door, demanding things which the ruling party has already proclaimed as its aim in one way or another: a multiparty system, mixed economy, and the creation of a rule-of-law state.

Vorotnikov Attends Hungary Anniversary Fete

LD2003235989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A festive meeting, held in the Hall of Columns at the House of the Unions, was devoted to the 70th anniversary of the proclamation of the Hungarian Socialist Republic. In the Presidium were Comrade Vorotnikov, a delegation of the MSZMP, a delegation of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society, and Rajnai, Hungary's ambassador to the USSR. It was stressed at the meeting that the USSR and Hungarian peoples, by implementing the policy of renewal, facilitate, through joint efforts, the opening up of socialism's creative potential and the strengthening of the cause of peace and security in Europe and the whole world.

Brochure on Restructuring Appears in CSSR

LD1503204589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] In the CSSR a brochure entitled "Don't Oversimplify the Process of Restructuring" has come out. The document says this, in particular. Over the last few months there has been much discussion in the CSSR about the problems which are rooted in the past, about the strategy and tactics of restructuring, and about socialist pluralism. Much of this is being implemented in practice. The higher party and state bodies and the public organizations that are part of the National Front are paying constant attention to this. Let us now listen to what our correspondent in Prague, Vladimir Taranov, has to say about this.

[Taranov] The CPCZ leadership regards restructuring as a necessary prerequisite for further developing socialist society, for strengthening the positions of socialism and its prestige in the world. It stresses that the process of restructuring cannot be oversimplified. It is an extremely difficult turning point for many people, and often one that causes hardship. The present complicated period in the CSSR is made even more so by a number of problems and difficulties that have recently built up which evoke people's criticism and dissatisfaction, and these problems must be tackled. However, essentially we are not talking about criticism of socialism, but about criticism of the shortcomings that people frequently face. Czechoslovakia's Communist Party is striving to overcome these problems and to completely satisfy people's needs. Meanwhile a certain activization of antisocialist forces and various informal groups can be observed in the CSSR, which, drawing strength from the propagandist support of the West, are trying to act from legal standpoints. The new phenomenon—their activity—is a transition from the hidden forms of activity to attempts at open confrontation, including the exertion of psychological pressure.

Some former leaders who brought the party and society to the events of 1968 are becoming active. Today they want to organize the so-called Club of Socialist Renaissance and make themselves out to be the predecessors of restructuring, and they are striving to get themselves rehabilitated. A pluralism of views is talked about a great deal. The process of restructuring and democratization is opening up new opportunities for expressing an extremely broad range of viewpoints.

However, one should not forget that a group of people exists in Czechoslovakia who hate socialism and are dreaming of revenge for the defeat of 1948. They did not hide that before, and they are not hiding it now, calculating on gaining some advantage from restructuring.

This year is especially important from the viewpoint of preparations for the upcoming 18th CPCZ Congress at the beginning of 1990. Restructuring in the CSSR is being carried out in accordance with specific conditions and utilizing the experience of friends in the socialist countries. There are no ready-made recipes for carrying out restructuring. This is why one cannot traverse this path without difficulties, possible mistakes, and risk. Life itself will reset the right course toward restructuring, it states in the new brochure of the Czechoslovak agency Orbis which has the title, "Don't Oversimplify the Process of Restructuring."

New SFRY Government's Problems Examined

PM2003152589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent L. Kolosov dispatch under the rubric "Events: Essence and Opinions": "Yugoslavia: New Government"]

[Text] Belgrade—The SFRY has finally acquired a government (Federal Executive Council, abbreviated to FEC), headed by 64-year-old Ante Markovic, a Croatian national. The new premier's candidacy among 20-plus contenders for this far from tranquil post was by and large a surprise, but it did win the full support of all the federation's republics and autonomous provinces.

This was evidently because A. Markovic succeeded in avoiding the political infighting and ethnic conflicts that were the "sin" of many of Yugoslavia's statesmen and politicians. A. Markovic's career also appealed to many people. He was involved in the people's liberation struggle and fought in the communist ranks as of 1943. He is a trained engineer and spent a long time managing "Rade Koncar," one of Yugoslavia's largest and prosperous associations. Then he actively embarked on state and political activity: He headed the Croatian Government, held important economic posts, and chaired a working group to elaborate amendments to the SFRY Constitution. The new premier is described as a talented economist, a skilled politician, a good organizer, and a determined man.

A. Markovic proposed his own candidacies in the new government. Henceforth it is to number 19 members instead of the previous 29: a chairman; two deputy chairmen (A. Mitrovic, deputy chairman of the Serbian Presidency, and Z. Pregl, executive secretary of the League of Communists of Slovenia Central Committee Presidium); 12 union secretaries (ministers); and three members of the FEC (ministers without portfolio). The candidacy of another minister without portfolio will be announced at a later date. B. Loncar will still deal with foreign affairs, V. Kadijevic and L. Gracanin are in charge of national defense and the Secretariat for Internal Affairs respectively, F. Horvath will regulate economic relations with foreign countries, and so on. There are a very large number of new young faces in the government, mainly people with economic training who have recently distinguished themselves in economic and political work.

The SFRY Federal Assembly Federal Chamber ratified the changes and addenda to the laws on the activity of federal management organs. It is envisaged that in the future the FEC will no longer be formed on the principle of equal representation for republics and autonomous provinces. The principle of compulsory unanimity in ratifying documents relating to current government policy has been abrogated. TANJUG pointed out that this will make it possible to eliminate numerous coordinating and interrepublic committees. The reorganization under way considerably enhances federal management organs' independence and powers and increases their responsibility.

What kind of program have the new government and its president put forward? A. Markovic, who supports a market economy and the maximum strengthening of Yugoslavia's economic ties with the outside world, made it public in his speech at the end of January this year when he was still a candidate for the post of head of the SFRY Government. He stated that a "totally new type of socialism should be built in Yugoslavia based on self-management." According to A. Markovic, this involves the integration of the internal market; the enhancement of enterprises' economic independence; equality; the nondiscrimatory development of cooperative, private, and mixed ownership; the application of the principle of offering preferential terms to capital investments in the Yugoslav economy jointly with other foreign persons and corporate entities, and radical social reforms.

The old problems lie in wait for the new government. Unemployment and inflation, which A. Markovic said in his program speech may rise this year by approximately 1,000 (!) percent, have once again reared their heads most sharply. After a short respite the dinar exchange rate on the world's money markets dipped once again, and for the first time it was said that Yugoslavia's international prestige was in decline. S. Dolanc, deputy president of the SFRY Presidency, stated this in a recent Zagreb television interview on his return from Japan, where he represented his country at Emperor Hirohito's funeral.

Without any beating around the bush, the Japanese businessmen with whom S. Dolanc talked expressed profound doubts about the possibility of attracting major injections of Japanese capital into the SFRY economy, since they have doubts about the stability of the Yugoslav system. According to Yugoslav newspapers, other prestigious Western representatives have also borne this out despite the fact that the SFRY has opened its doors wide to foreign capital as never before. "I am profoundly convinced," S. Dolanc stated, "that the main reason for this attitude toward Yugoslavia is its current economic position and political instability." The FRG authorities' introduction of restrictive visa regulations for Yugoslav citizens also reflects negative phenomena within the country....

First it was the "events in Kosovo," of course, that took their toll on Yugoslavia's international prestige. That is why the press here is still thoroughly analyzing the causes of February's nationalist and separatist flare-up in the autonomous province which culminated in an 8-day political strike by Albanian workers and miners at the "Trepca" mining and metallurgical combine, which includes the notorious "Stari Trg" mine. RAD, the Confederation of Trade Unions weekly, wrote openly in its last edition that in Kosovo there was a very real conspiracy against the federation aiming to create an "ethnically pure republic of Kosovo."

The "sovereign state of Trepca," the "president" of which was the general director of this large Kosovo enterprise, lasted for little more than a week in the independent state of Yugoslavia, the journal pointed out. Only people whom the combine's "border authorities" issued with a pass could cross its "border." Western journalists were greeted here with outstretched arms while many Yugoslav mass media representatives were simply thrown out on their ears. More than 30,000 workers and employees, representatives of the private sector, students, and Albanian schoolchildren openly recognized the "Trepca state," expressing their support through strikes, demonstrations, and the closure of industrial enterprises, workshops, and even private cafes. "The formation of a state within a state," RAD wrote, "was unanimously and resolutely condemned by all Yugoslavia, but not at its very outset. This is one of the very rare examples in the country's history **of a direct threat to the country's territorial integrity not being followed by an immediate reaction.** (My stress.—L.K.) Why? That is a subject for separate serious discussion...."

People are well aware that the report by L. Mojsov, member of the SFRY Presidency, thoroughly and openly analyzed the "events in Kosovo" at the extraordinary session of the two chambers of the Federal Assembly (Yugoslavia's parliament—L.K.) and spoke, in particular, about the three phases of the irredentist counterrevolution in the autonomous province: the general "passive" strike by Albanian nationals; the provocation of riots in connection with the adoption of amendments to the Serbian Constitution; and the calls for armed revolt against the forces of law and order. "Every word of Lazar Mojsov's speech," the trade union weekly underlined, "found its mark, exposed events behind the scenes, and dispelled the smokescreen of lies, intrigue, falsehood, evil intent, and conspiracy...."

Certainly all the names have not yet been made known, and the roots of counterrevolution in Kosovo have still not been fully extirpated. Yet the tanks, aircraft, and army units maintaining order in the autonomous province cannot remain there forever.... Peace in the shadow of a gun is a fragile peace. Of course, the "disseminators" of counterrevolution in Kosovo—the leaders of the Albanian nationalists and separatists—must be radically neutralized. There should be management cadres capable of convincing the people that Serbia is just as impossible without its multiethnic Kosovo autonomous province as is multiethnic Yugoslavia without the Socialist Republic of Serbia. But the seeds of counterrevolution have fallen on Kosovo soil, which has already been subject to erosion and social backwardness for many years—the soil was made ready by real life....

Let me come back again to the interview with S. Dolanc, deputy president of the SFRY Presidency, who stated in conclusion that "Yugoslavia can only exist as a federal state of peoples and ethnic groups and its international prestige will be determined by the strength of its economy and political system." Both are interconnected.

Kosovo is Yugoslavia's sorest point, beyond any shadow of a doubt. But it cannot be treated without an improvement in the country's economic, social, and—of course—political situation. There is no more time for elucidating the disagreements, for bringing various viewpoints closer together, or for mutual recriminations. United, practical actions are needed from all interested forces, including, of course, the new government.

West Europe

Gorbachev Greets Italian Communist Congress

LD2003181489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today the 18th Italian Communist Party Congress continued its work. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev greeted those taking part in the congress.

[Begin videorecording of Gorbachev, shown sitting at table, reading to camera] Dear comrades, on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee and all Soviet Communists, I cordially greet the delegates to the congress, which promises to be a major event in the life of your party and country.

The unusual method of addressing you, suggested by Comrade Achille Occhetto, heightens the sense of participation in your work and creates the effect of being present among you.

Through you, I greet all Italian Communists and our comrade party, with which we have been linked by many things for decades. I greet the party of Antonic Gramsci, Palmiro Togliatti, and Enrico Berlinguer—who embodied in their activity the indissoluble link between the struggle for the national interests of the Italian people and the struggle for the ideals of the workers movement of all working people—a party which is currently searching for new solutions to new problems engendered by our stormy and complex age.

Our country is also experiencing something which—in terms of its scale and novelty—is unusual. Revolutionary restructuring has entered a crucial stage. Theories are being translated into society's everyday life. For a long time our society has not experienced such a political and intellectual uplift, such a struggle of passions. Behind this is not merely a spontaneous outburst of feelings of freedom after so many years of stagnation and limitations. Behind this there is also a conciousness of responsibility for the renewal of the country and for a new quality of socialism.

The process of transformations is getting deeper, is becoming increasingly rich in content and multilayered, and, of course, more contradictory, and, in some things is causing tension—all the more so because what is new is inevitably bound up with the old. This is taking place not only because there is resistance and because time is needed to learn to work and think in a new way, but also because it is impossible to break up and throw out the previous mechanisms and levers once and for all without creating and setting up the new ones. All that is natural; we understand and take it into account in our work. We have quite a few problems, because a great deal now has to be drastically altered. New things do not come easily. But our people are for restructuring; that is the most important thing, and herein lies the guarantee of its success.

Soviet people and the CPSU know and highly appraise the understanding and support for our restructuring on the part of the Italian Communists and the immense majority of Italians. I receive masses of letters from Italy, from private individuals and collectives, from children and universities, from academics and cultural figures. They contain wishes for success and solidarity with us. We are grateful for that; it inspires us and strengthens our confidence that we are doing something which is useful and not only for ourselves. The deep-seated meaning of restructuring is revival of the original aims of the October revolution, overcoming the twofold alienation of the individual—alienation from the means of production and from power. We want to fully implement Lenin's idea that socialism is creative activity at the grass roots.

It would be untrue and it would be self-deception to think that we could so decisively undertake the implementation of this tremendous task without having the gigantic material and spiritual potential created over the previous years. Generations of our grandfathers and fathers defended the socialist choice, broke the back of Hitlerism, and brought a country of many millions out of poverty and illiteracy. They laid the foundations for a social protection of the working people. We have already had 4 years of restructuring. At times, I myself am amazed at the enormous amount of work behind us, how society has changed, and how far we have moved away from the dogmas and many formalities which burdened us for so many years. We are living in a different political regime, in a different spiritual atmosphere, amidst a different historical rhythm. The party is building up the energy of restructuring; the theoretical and experimental searches go on. More and more people are becoming involved in them.

Restructuring demands a new quality of cadres and brings forward bold, intelligent, and talented people at all levels. We do not rule out various options for resolving tasks, but in our advance we seek these solutions only through opening up the potential of socialism. We are not yet satisfied with what we have achieved, and some things are making us uneasy. However, as distinct from the past, dissatisfaction originates from a healthy, critical base. True, given the lack of political standards and experience, sometimes the criticism is excessive and turns into carping, into demagogy too, and into attempts to attribute to restructuring the legacy of the past. The party is learning to distinguish one from the other. This is of fundamental importance. It is important that the ruinous gap between words and deeds should not arise again. In coming forward as the engine of revolutionary changes, we, Soviet Communists, are changing ourselves, and we understand that the vanguard role of the party can only be built on the basis of its profound and creative mastery of the great Marxist-Leninist dialectics.

We are sure, dear comrades, that restructuring is in earnest and is here for a long time, and that glasnost is forever. We will not take a single step away from the socialist path; we will not take a single step away from democracy. The betrothal of socialism and freedom is the distinctive feature of restructuring. We are changing in a changing world, a world that is moving swiftly toward the turn of a new century. What will we be taking to this landmark? With our restructuring and new thinking we have contributed to major changes in international relations, in Europe as well, perhaps more than anywhere else. Europe has had a chance to play its indispensable role in shaping a period of peace throughout the world. In doing this, it has to look to its own problems, and it has already started doing this. [Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 21 March, in its Second Edition on page 1, carries Gorbachev's greetings to the Italian Communist Party Congress. PRAVDA renders the preceding sentence: "In doing this, it has to sort out its own problems, and it has already started doing this."] There is no need to cite facts that are apparent to everyone. The idea of a common European home is not just an abstract structure, it is a conclusion from Europe's history which has been brought about by the realities of the end of the 20th century. We are convinced of the feasibility of this idea and of the fact that the Europeans—together with the Americans and Canadians and in the interests common to all—can return the integral concept of Europe lost over the centuries, where everyone preserves their national uniqueness and their unrestricted freedom of choice, where there are no nuclear or any other offensive weapons, and where the nations voluntarily contribute part of the fruits of their genius and labor to the general dynamics. The workers movement and the left-wing, democratic forces are obliged to make their original and fundamentally important contribution to this process in their thoughts and deeds. The whole point is to activate their internationalist potential in this respect, and precisely in the present conditions of the mighty currents of European economic integration.

Dear comrades, allow me to use this occasion, which has been granted to me here, to convey to you and through you to all Italians—on behalf of the Soviet people—our feelings of respect and unwaning sympathy and to wish the Italian people progress, peace, and prosperity. Your generous aid in connection with the earthquake in Armenia evoked particular gratitude and a wave of good feelings toward you in our country. Thank you once again. We are satisfied with the state of our relations with Italy. We give the Italian Government, statesmen, and business circles their due for the favorable developments and for their constructive position on a number of topical international issues. I wish your congress success. May interaction between our parties expand at this point of history, which is extremely crucial for the whole world. [end recording]

'Stormy Applause' Greets Message

LD2003142489 Moscow TASS in English 1345 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Rome March 20 TASS—A videotaped message of greetings from Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to the 18th Congress of the Italian Communist Party now taking place in Rome was met with stormy applause when it was shown on Monday.

* PCI on Eve of Party Congress Viewed

WA18070563 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 89 Second Edition p 7

[Article by N. Miroshnik in Rome: "On the Eve of the Congress"]

[Text] The day of the opening of the 28th Congress of the Italian Communist Party [PCI] is approaching. Preparations for it have reached the finishing line. During the last days they completed the report and election conferences in the provincial federations of the PCI. The submitted the names of more than 1,000 delegates who will convene on 18 March in the Rome Palace of Sports at the regular international forum of Italian Communists.

In addition to the official delegates who have the decisive vote and the numerous Italian and foreign guests, the so-called "external" representatives will also participate in the work of the congress—people who formally are not members of the PCI but who are close to it in spirit and political views, those whom we sometimes call "sympathizers." Among them are parliamentarians from a group of left-wing independents selected from the lists of the PCI, representatives of the environmental protection movement, and well-known cultural figures. They will be able to express their opinions and make suggestions; in brief, they will have the right to a consultative vote. Each federation has been given the opportunity to invite sympathizers in proportion to the number of electors voting for Communists at the general elections in the given province. Thus the party is striving to strengthen and expand its direct contact with the masses.

The participation of "external" representatives is not the only new aspect that marked the preparation for the congress. The precongress discussion was opened last September not as usual, with the publication of the drafts of the documents developed by the party's leadership agencies, but with an interview by Secretary General A. Occhetto in the newspaper UNITA. "We must not only tell but also ask the citizens what the PCI should do today in order to serve Italian society," he declared from the pages of the newspaper.

After this, taking into account the first hints of the developing discussion, the official party documents were prepared and later approved by the November plenum of the Central Committee.

The discussion of the documents began with the lower levels of territorial and production party organizations, called sections here. The discussion was extremely heated. It is known that in past years the party has experienced a difficult period. At several consecutive elections it was dogged by failures which reflected a reduction not only of the electoral base but of the number of Communists themselves. The current PCI leadership and Secretary General A. Occhetto, who was elected last summer, are setting the goal of changing the situation, stepping up party activity, and increasing its authority and influence among the masses. In addition to the revision of certain political tenets, which must be discussed at the upcoming congress, measures of an organizational nature are also being taken.

Thus, for example, it was decided to expand the participation of women in the party's management agencies. At the elections for leadership which will culminate with the congress, they will be guaranteed no less than one-third of the positions. This time it is being proposed to introduce 20 percent more names to the lists of candidates for the new Central Committee and Central Control Commission than the number of planned positions so the delegates will actually have a choice.

Among the federations that have completed the precongress campaign was the one from Rome. It is one of the largest: almost 30,000 Communists. I do not know how correct it would be to consider this federation "typical," but I think a brief discussion of the results of the campaign in the capital will give us an idea of how it is taking place in general.

Along with the rest of the party, the Rome federation has been experiencing difficulties in past years. Its membership has decreased somewhat. Judging from the results of the exchange of party tickets published these days—and this is done annually in the PCI—they have not yet managed to fully overcome the unfavorable tendencies. In particular, the task of recruiting youths is not an easy one: Communists under 30 years of age comprise less than 7 percent of the overall number in the capital.

At the report and election meetings in almost 200 Rome sections, the PCI adopted a total of more than 150 amendments to the political document. Many of them pertained to international issues—Italy's participation in NATO, evaluations of restructuring in our country, ways of solving the problems in Palestine. On the whole the Central Committee political document received approval from the majority of party members in the lower organizations.

Among the interviews held with delegates in Rome during the conference, one recalls the conversation with Nadia Spano, a Communist since 1938. Speaking about the new things the party is offering Italian society today, in particular the modern concept of socialism, she concluded: "Of course, so far we know more about what we want than what we should begin to do. But we are on the right track. To me the idea that man and his needs should be at the center of policy seems truly important."

Italy's Andreotti Receives Yakovlev

LD1703220889 Moscow TASS in English 2010 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] Rome March 17 TASS—Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, who had arrived here, met Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti today.

Some matters concerning the present-day international politics and bilateral relations were discussed during a constructive conversation.

An exceptional importance of the Vienna meeting from the viewpoint of further improvement of the situation in the world was emphasised. The idea of the comon European home, which carries a powerful potential of stabilisation on the European Continent, is of great importance for deepening the all-European peace process.

The two sides pointed out a great importance of the quest for political solutions to regional conflicts. The Italian foreign minister said Europe hopefully awaited a continuation of the dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States on major international issues.

As far as bilateral relations are concerned, satisfaction with their good state and with reassuring prospects for their increasing development in the political, economic and cultural fields was expressed.

Gerasimov Talks With Greek Prime Minister

LD2003153789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1000 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Athens, 20 Mar (TASS)—Contacts between the Governments of the USSR and Greece make an effective contribution to the creation of a spirit of cooperation and the consolidation of an atmosphere of trust, which are necessary for the further progress of East-West dialogue, as well as for the process of rapprochement between the two military blocs on disarmament problems. This was stated here by Andreas Papandreou, prime minister of Greece, in a conversation with Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate.

Gerasimov on Visit, Yeltsin Remarks

NC1903170789 Athens Domestic Service in Greek 1230 GMT 19 Mar 89

[Interview with Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by correspondent Dina Oikonomidhou in Athens; date not given—recorded; Gerasimov speaks in Russian with superimposed Greek translation]

[Text] [Oikonomidhou] Mr Gerasimov, what is the purpose of your unexpected and brief visit to our country?

[Gerasimov] The purpose of my visit was to meet the Greek leadership and to exchange views on matters that concern the two countries. We discussed the situation in the Middle East, the eastern Mediterranean, and Cyprus, which I visited recently. We exchanged views on the attitude of the two countries and on the smoothing of regional differences following the change in leadership in Washington and in view of the meeting in Brussels between the leaders of the NATO member countries. We also discussed ways of better utilizing the Vienna talks for the reduction of armed forces and arms in Europe. This is the second time I have met with Andreas Papandreou. My first meeting was when Papandreou was in the opposition and I was representing, as a journalist, MOSCOW NEWS, which is now published in Greece as well.

[Oikonomidhou] Nevertheless, the impression created is that besides all that, your visit is connected with Mikhail Gorbachev's visit, which has been pending for more than 1 year. Have you conveyed any message from him to Papandreou?

[Gerasimov] We had an interesting discussion with Papandreou, a mutual political briefing. I have not brought any message with me.

[Oikonomidhou] Can we expect Gorbachev's visit after the parliamentary elections in Greece?

[Gerasimov] The invitation stands: Gorbachev's schedule for this year is very full. He must visit Cuba, Great Britain, the FRG, France, and China. I think Greece also deserves such a visit.

[Oikonomidhou] Following your contacts on the Cyprus issue with both the Greek prime minister and the leadership of the Republic of Cyprus, how does the Soviet Union see the means for settling the Cyprus problem?

[Gerasimov] First of all, an intercommunal dialogue is needed. It is taking place right now, and is very difficult but extremely necessary. In our view, an international conference is also needed as a guarantee for the solution of the Cyprus issue. The one does not contradict the other.

[Oikonomidhou] For the first time in the Soviet Union's history, different views and programs by candidates in the election campaign are being put forward. In connection with this, what is the explanation to the question raised at the recent CPSU Central Committee Plenum by certain Central Committee members with regard to statements made during the election campaign by Boris Yeltsin?

[Gerasimov] Some members of the CPSU Central Committee believe that many statements and proposals by Boris Yeltsin are in contrast with his position as a Central Committee member. For example, it is his view to establish an organization parallel to the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol]. He has every right to express such a view, but before doing so he has to see whether this is in agreement with his capacity as a Central Committee member. Many raised the question at the plenum, and it was decided to appoint a committee to deal with what Boris Yeltsin precisely said. The committee will submit the pertinent report to the next plenum for discussion. This plenum will be held after the elections, so this question is not connected with the elections for which Yeltsin is a candidate. On 26 March the voters will vote either for Boris Yeltsin or for his election opponent Brakov, the director at the automobile plant [name indistinct].

[Oikonomidhou] In a recent interview with Greek radio, Yeltsin said that a law concerning the young must be enacted to give them more independence and initiative, and even the possibility of establishing another organization parallel to the Komsomol. Do you believe this is an unusual thing for a CPSU cadre to say?

[Gerasimov] A CPSU member must see that Komsomol is an active organization, that it works with enthusiasm, without bureaucratic processes or designs, and that it works so well that the young people may not need another organization. The party member must inspire in it new life, restructuring. If Boris Yeltsin were not a party member, (?no issue would have been created) regarding this.

Thatcher on Gorbachev Visit, Soviet Policies

PM2003124789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "'We Welcome the Upcoming Visit.' M. Thatcher on Soviet-British Relations"]

[Text] London, 18 Mar—"We welcome CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev's upcoming visit to Britain, and I personally look forward to our talks very much," British Prime Minister M. Thatcher said today.

Addressing the Conservative Central Council Conference in Scarborough, she noted that there is a "period of enormous change" in the Soviet Union at the moment in domestic and foreign policy. Stressing that Britain is prepared in deeds as well as words to "join in efforts to reduce tension between East and West," the government head said that this must not be done by "weakening the country's security."

Developing this idea, M. Thatcher asserted, in particular, that even after the USSR's implementation of the conventional arms reductions that have been announced, it will have a "2:1 superiority" in that sphere. "We have to be realistic about the Soviet steps, which are geared to weakening the West by trying to get U.S. nuclear weapons out of Europe," the British prime minister said, reiterating the idea that nuclear weapons are the "only means of deterring war."

USSR, UK Sign Culture Accord in Moscow

LD1803160289 Moscow TASS in English 1514 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—A programme on Soviet-British cooperation in science, education and culture for 1989-1991 was signed at the Soviet Foreign Ministry on Friday.

The programme envisages more exchanges and cooperation in the field of science, education, culture, arts, publishing, film-making, television and radio broadcasting, health services, sport and tourism. There are plans to expand youth and school exchanges and cooperation in the sphere of information, and encourage direct ties between scientific and cultural institutions of the two countries.

The agreement was signed by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin and Britain's ambassador to the USSR, Rodric Braithwaite.

Karpov, Luxembourg Envoy Discuss Vienna Talks

LD1603193489 Moscow TASS in English 1826 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—Questions concerning disarmament and security, above all in connection with the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces and on confidence- and security- building measures in Europe, were discussed on Thursday in the course of a conversation between Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov and the Ambassador of Luxembourg to the Soviet Union Jurgen Wurth. The ambassador was received on a protocol visit.

Radio, TV Protocol Signed With Cyprus

LD1703000589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1747 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Excerpt] Nicosia, 16 Mar (TASS)—A working protocol on television and radio broadcasting between the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and the Cyprus Radio Broadcasting Corporation for 1989-90 was signed here today. The document envisages an exchange of information materials, television and radio programs, and popular features from Soviet and Cypriot television. [passage omitted]

Latin America & Caribbean

Commentary Views El Salvador Elections

LD2003175589 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Mikhail Mayorov commentary]

[Text] Sunday saw presidential elections in El Salvador. The initial results indicate a victory for Alfredo Cristiani, of the far-right Republican Nationalist Alliance, Arena. Mikhail Mayorov looks at the significance of the result:

In the first place it's noteworthy that the victory of Alfredo Cristiani does not reflect the will of El Salvador's 5-million population. The elections were boycotted by left-wing forces, which had suggested that they should be postponed till September to give time to the left-wing parties to prepare for them. The Duarte regime and the Army rejected their proposal. In answer the Farabundo Marti National Front launched military operations throughout the country. The rebels blocked roads and put out of action part of the country's energy system. As a result this time more voters refused to go to the polls than at the 1984 presidential elections which brought to power the Christian Democrats.

At the polling stations tensions were extremely high. They were created by the military and right-wing politicians seeking to ensure victory for their candidate Alfredo Cristiani, whose name is invariably accompanied by that of retired Major Roberto D'Aubuisson, the godfather of the death squads ravaging the country. The new ruling Arena Party was founded by D'Aubuisson back in 1981.

The results of voting undoubtedly signify a further shift to the right in El Salvador. Though the rebels expressed their willingness to enter into a dialogue with political parties after the elections, it's doubtful that the chances for establishing peace in the country, where the civil war is 10 years old, have increased. The outcome of Sunday's elections can hardly satisfy Washington because the defeat sustained by the Christian Democrats signifies to a certain extent a defeat for the United States policy in El Salvador. The Duarte regime was proposed by Washington as an alternative to the road followed by the rebels and other left-wing forces. The American taxpayer had to part with $3 billion for its sake. U.S. aid sufficed to wage the fratricidal war which has claimed 60,000 lives in El Salvador. However, it's clear now that it was insufficient to neutralize the danger stemming from the ultraright-wing forces. The policy confined to counteracting the so-called communist threat opened the door to the right-wing extremists, which is detrimental to the situation inside the country and to the prospects for reaching a settlement in the region.

USSR Research Vessels Arrive in Cuba

LD2003154589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0800 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Havana, 20 Mar (TASS)—TASS correspondent Sergey Sereda reports:

The Soviet scientific research vessels "Akademik Golitsyn" and "Izyskatel-2," which have crews specializing in prospecting for oil at sea, have arrived in Cuba. Using modern seismological equipment, the specialists from the USSR will be probing the seabed off the island, covering an overall area of 5,700 square kilometers. Once the results they obtain have been analyzed, they will, in conjunction with Cuban oil workers, embark upon offshore drilling.

The research, using computers installed on the Soviet ships, gives us an excellent opportunity to study the prospects for the extraction of "black gold" on the island's maritime shelf, said Manuel Marrero, the chief specialist of the oil prospecting and extraction directorate of the Cuban Ministry for Basic Industry, in a conversation with journalists. Both ships have seismic laboratories and computing centers equipped with computer technology to facilitate rapid processing of the data obtained.

The "Akademik Golitsyn" will be prospecting for oil in Cuban territorial waters for the third time. During previous work here the crew investigated the main part of 20,000 square kilometers in the coastal areas of the island. It has now been instructed to study the seabed in the deep water areas. In turn, specialists from "Izyskatel-2" will be prospecting in shallow waters.

By the end of the current 5-year period Cuba plans to increase oil extraction to 2 million tonnes per annum. According to the geological research, around 140,000 square kilometers of the island and its coastal waters have been deemed promising areas for oil and gas extraction. More than 10 new deposits have been discovered in the country in recent years, mainly in the area of the so-called northern oil and gas belt.

In Cardenas Bay, in the north of Matanzas Province, the country's first offshore oil prospecting base is being built. Incidentally, this was decided following the seismological research done by the crew of "Akademik Golitsyn." Boring from an offshore platform will make it possible to take the depth of boreholes down to 4,000 meters and to study in detail a considerable section of the waters of the bay.

Political & Social

Further on Demonstration in Support of Yeltsin

GLASNOST Editor Cited on Rally

TA2003131989 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1105 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] In a telephone conversation from Moscow, the Voice of Israel was given new details on the scope of support for Yeltsin and the steps taken by the authorities against this support. Our foreign affairs editor Gid'on Remez reports:

[Remez] The CPSU Central Committee's decision last Thursday to open an investigation of charges that Yeltsin deviated from the party line has apparently boomeranged. Yesterday, while thousands demonstrated in the center of Moscow under the slogan: Yelstin is the people's candidate, similar demonstrations of support took place in at least four other cities, including Leningrad and Lvov. This information was given to us from Moscow by Dimitriy Volchok, one of the editors of the independent magazine GLASNOST. Did the blocking of yesterday's demonstration in Moscow's Red Square discourage Yeltsin's supporters? Will they carry out further demonstrations? [Volchok speaks in Russian followed by Remez' translation]

Volchok says yes. At this very moment, another demonstration in support of Yeltsin is about to start at the Frunzenskaya metro station in the center of Moscow. People are no longer afraid. At the very worst they will be detained for several days. This danger is, however, very real. Last week the authorities in several towns dispersed demonstrations by the Democratic Front, an independent political organization, many of whose members also displayed slogans in support of Yeltsin.

In Moscow, 38 people, including Valeriya Novodvorskaya, the organization's chairwoman, and Sergiy Grigoryants, the GLASNOST chief editor, were arrested and sentenced to 10 days imprisonment and a 150 ruble fine each. In Leningrad 1,200 policemen were deployed to disperse a similar gathering and some 200 of the participants were arrested. On the other hand, gatherings in several Siberian towns, including Yeltsin's birthplace, Sverdlovsk, passed without police intervention. The excitement surrounding the elections in general, and Yeltsin specifically, Volchok says, is the most wide-ranging Russia has known since the revolution. Only 1 week remains before the elections.

IZVESTIYA Views Both Sides

PM2003164789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Special correspondent A. Davydov report: "Demonstration and Information"]

[Text] Moscow—Judging from the numerous reports reaching the editorial office today, the heat of the election campaign is rising markedly. After getting to know their candidates, people want to decide finally whom to vote for. In this situation electoral commissions and local soviet ispolkoms are, it is well known, obliged to create the conditions for the unhampered expression of the citizens' will and the free, comprehensive discussion of the candidates' political positions and programs. But, unfortunately, these tasks—which, let us emphasize, are covered by legislation—are not always properly dealt with. There are examples of this in the provinces, and in Moscow too.

A rally of the public in support of B.N. Yeltsin, candidate USSR people's deputy for Moscow City National Territorial Okrug No 1, was scheduled for 19 March in the capital's Gorkiy Culture and Leisure Park. This was announced beforehand, and the gorispolkom gave the appropriate permission. At the same time an unusual festival was to be held in the park—a Tea Day. Apparently the idea was that in an unconstrained atmosphere, over a cup of the aromatic beverage, people would discuss the problems that worry them, and enjoy their leisure at the same time.

At the appointed time, a good many Muscovites gathered on the park embankment. However, another "surprise" awaited them there: Militia workers were announcing over megaphones that the ispolkom had revised its decision—the meeting was cancelled, people were politely requested to disperse and take part in the tea drinking....

If that had happened only 4 years ago, the would-be participants in the rally would have calmly dispersed. But today, more than ever before, people need to understand consciously what is happening. And they sometimes react in the most surprising way to any kind of ban. In other words, what happened was obviously not at all what the city authorities expected. Thousands of Muscovites set off for the Moscow City Soviet building to demand an explanation of why the election rally was canceled. And when the column reached Gorkiy Street it became clear that such an awesome gathering of people had to be dealt with seriously.

And so the ispolkom leadership had to review its decision once again. They allowed the rally to go ahead. And it took place right there, on Sovetskaya Square, in front of the Moscow City Soviet building. It lasted several hours, order and discipline were strictly observed, but during all this time traffic on part of the capital's main thoroughfare was completely blocked....

I might end here, but I cannot ignore the other side of the situation that developed. With all due respect for the opinion of the Muscovites who gathered in the square, it is difficult to agree to the method which they chose in their communications with the ispolkom. Frankly speaking, it was not the best of methods. If we can't have our way, if we can't have what we want, let's organize a demonstration, let's go out into the streets, let's get a crowd together and apply pressure—that, they claim, is democracy.

We often repeat nowadays that democracy has to be learned. However, another thing is also obvious—the rudiments of democratic social relations have to be mastered equally by both leading workers and rank-and-file citizens. Because all of us bear an equal responsibility to society—a responsibility for restructuring, for democracy, and for glasnost. There have been, there are, and there will be problems. On any topic nowadays different opinions, often mutually exclusive opinions, are voiced and it is necessary to learn, to learn to listen and understand each other.

Let me add: It is also necessary to learn to foresee the results of one's actions. In the given case such foresight was completely lacking, both on the part of those who still believe that any directive will be meekly followed by people, and those who immediately question any instruction issued by the authorities. The unsuccessful attempt to ban a voters' rally in a city park merely stirred people up and evoked their strong discontent. And this discontent, becoming heated, brought the demonstration to the dangerous brink of uncontrolled reactions. It is indeed necessary for all of us in equal measure to learn democracy, not applying different yardsticks to ranking posts and authorities and making the customary excuses about the simplicity of "ordinary" people.

Officials View Results of Agriculture Plenum

Yakovlev Sees Turning Points

PM2103102889 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 19-20 Mar 89 p 7

[Interview with CPSU Central Committee Secretary Aleksandr Yakovlev by Paolo Garimberti in Rome on 18 March]

[Excerpt] Rome—[passage omitted]

[Garimberti] Aleksandr Nikolayevich, the Central Committee meeting on agriculture which took place this week seemed to Western observers to be primarily a political battle between conservatives and reformers. Was that really the case?

[Yakovlev] Yes, it was. We also regard the Central Committee plenum as a very important political turning point. But it was also an economic turning point because we succeeded in completely restructuring the agricultural sector. The producer now becomes the proprietor of the land and the bureaucratic superstructure which burdened our agriculture has been dismantled. In political terms, I would say that the result of the meeting was recognition of equality between the various forms of ownership and the various methods of managing the economy. And if this result is carried through, we will be able to say that it was a great victory for restructuring.

[Garimberti] But was there a political clash on this reform?

[Yakovlev] No, at least in the sense that the Politburo's proposals were unanimously approved. However, if you ask me whether everybody understands the importance of these changes, that is a different matter. Gorbachev said that artificial changes which are purely for show and feigned unanimity do not help us. Methods of running the economy need to be discussed in a democratic way and with reference to real situations. It is pointless to impose universal models or criteria. It is the producers and farmers who must decide, without intervention from above: those who prefer the kolkhoz can keep the kolkhoz; those who want land to be leased to the peasants, can have leasing; and those who prefer cooperative management are free to form a cooperative. If we want the economy to function, we must learn to be more pragmatic and less ideological.

[Garimberti] I do not think that everybody agrees with this view. Otherwise the restructuring battle would already have been won. However, every day we hear reports of resistance, hankering after the past, and calls not to forget your ideological heritage....

[Yakovlev] Of course, there is resistance and it would be very strange if that did not exist. If it did not exist, why would we say that restructuring is a revolution? There are no unanimous revolutions. I am therefore careful not to deny that there is resistance. I will go further: This resistance exists in each of us. It is what I call psychological restructuring, which is the most difficult because it is sometimes easier to convince others than it is to convince ourselves. Your newspaper has written several times that resistance comes from the bureaucrats. That is too simple or simplistic. It comes from individual and group egoism. It comes from the workers themselves because they are only interested in earning more. But we also intend restructuring to be a discipline, a spirit of initiative, the capacity for imagination; in short, it must be a radical social and economic transformation, and not everybody is capable of meeting our demand.

[Garimberti] However, how do you explain some articles which hark back to the past, like the one signed by Nina Andreyeva which praised Stalinism? It was no accident that such an article appeared in the Soviet press while Gorbachev was absent from Moscow. Was that not an attempt at a palace coup?

[Yakovlev] The timing of the publication of that article may have been a coincidence because it had certainly been in preparation for some time. But the article itself was no accident; it was a test to see how society would react. It was therefore necessary to make a tough reply, which we did. This kind of article reflects a real state of mind in some sections of Soviet society—the fear that past values are being destroyed, that socialism is being destroyed. You are right; they are nostalgic articles. I would like to make it clear that I do not like criticizing the past either, it is my country's history and I do not want to throw the baby out with the bath water. Today (yesterday—LA REPUBBLICA editor's note) Natta rightly reaffirmed that you cannot live without a memory of the past. But we do not want to deny our past; we want to learn from it. I am not interested in Stalin for his own sake; he is a matter for the historians. I am interested in the social phenomena linked to Stalin because I want to understand what we ought and ought not to do today.

[Garimberti] Yegor Ligachev is said to be the leader of the conservatives and he is said to be Gorbachev's main enemy. Is this really true?

[Yakovlev] That is an oversimplification, to put it mildly. That is a complete invention by the West. Thank God, we have different viewpoints; we are not robots. The debate on restructuring involves everybody, from the ordinary worker to the whole Politburo. And I also thank God that discussions in the Politburo are no longer what they once were. Do you know what used to happen? Somebody said: This wall is white; several others stood up and added: Yes, we agree. Then the others stood up and said: Neither of you is right because this wall is in fact white. We have now learned that it is possible to have different viewpoints. But there is unanimity on fundamental choices and, in view of the fact that I attend all Politburo meetings, I can assure you that Gorbachev's authority has never been questioned.

[Garimberti] However, you are putting Yeltsin in the dock for daring to criticize Ligachev and even Gorbachev. The Central Committee has now set up a commission of inquiry. What has Yeltsin done that is so bad?

[Yakovlev] Who said that he did anything bad? I will tell you how this commission of inquiry was formed. At the Central Committee meeting one speaker said that he thought Yeltsin's attitude was wrong. Others supported that view. The Central Committee did not want to discuss the matter at the plenum and it was decided to set up a commission. But the communique specifically stated that, according to some people's opinion, Yeltsin's activities must be closely examined. I emphasize that it says according to some people's opinion. This view is not shared by all. So, let us examine his activities closely and we will see. This is democracy too. They way in which this Yeltsin story is being reported by Western newspapers reminds me of Mark Twain when he said that in journalism a dog biting a man is not news but a man biting a dog is.

[Garimberti] That is a golden rule of journalism. Your famous LITERATURNAYA GAZETA article in 1972 was an example of the man who bites the dog: a party official criticizing his bosses. Is it true that it cost you your job?

[Yakovlev] I do not want to give myself airs. I criticized nationalism in that article. They are opinions which I still hold: there are nationalists, chauvinists, and anti-Semites in our country today. That may not please some people. It would be too easy for me to say now that I disagreed with a whole political style, that I was ahead of my time in some way. I do not think it would be very good for me to portray myself as a hero after the battle, irrespective of the fact that the battle was then really fought.

[Garimberti] That battle also led to a radical revision of the idea which guided you for many years, namely that the struggle between capitalism and socialism could not be abandoned. Are you not now preaching interdependence?

[Yakovlev] I have never liked the idea of the struggle and final victory of either system. You must decide what kind of capitalism you want to build and we must decide what kind of socialism we want to build. I personally am opposed to certain messianic views which aspire to impose their own model on others as the best in the world. I leave that to the Americans who maintain that their society is a temple shining with light from the top of a hill.

[Garimberti] So, did you like Occhetto's speech which was based on the concept of broad autonomy for the parties in the domestic and international spheres and also on the need for international cooperation to tackle the world's political and economic problems?

[Yakovlev] Yes, I liked it very much. I particularly liked his thoughts about the link between democracy and socialism. I think that Occhetto is a very realistic politician who argues on the basis of your country's political and social situation, but I would also say who argues on the basis of the situation in Europe.

[Garimberti] One last question. You spent a year studying Roosevelt and you concluded that Roosevelt saved American capitalism when it was on its last legs. Do you also think that Gorbachev acted to save Soviet socialism when it was on its last legs?

[Yakovlev] We had a crisis and nobody can say what would have happened if that crisis had continued. It was not a question of saving socialism but of creating a new quality of socialism. We are not fire fighters arriving with ladders and safety nets. We are normal politicians who want to change the society in which we live.

Economist Tikhonov 'Sure' of New Plan

PM2103115689 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 17 Mar 89 p 9

[Interview with Soviet economist Vladimir Tikhonov by correspondent Fiammetta Cucurnia in Moscow on 16 March; first two paragraghs are an introduction]

[Text] Moscow—Will Mikhail Gorbachev's new revolution in the countryside succeed in feeding the USSR? This is the question which we put to Academician

Vladimir Tikhonov, one of the Soviet Union's main agricultural experts who has been working for years on the Kremlin's ambitious plan for a "green reform," at the end of the Central Committee plenum yesterday evening.

For Tikhonov, who worked alongside Mikhail Gorbachev when the secretary and president headed the agriculture department in the CPSU secretariat and who is usually described in Moscow as the "scientific and theoretical father" of the agrarian reform, there is no doubt.

[Tikhonov] I am sure it can do that but only if all the agricultural structures, be they sovkhozes or kolkhozes, small cooperatives, groups of individuals, or single peasants, should be guaranteed absolutely equal economic and social conditions. In other words, our gamble will only be successful if all the peasants, without distinction, are regarded by the law as leaseholders with equal rights of land which belongs to the state.

[Curcurnia] However, Vladimir Aleksandreyevich, many people think that the decision announced at the plenum is not the best solution but the result of a compromise between conservatives and progressives which forced Gorbachev to abandon the large-scale leasing of land in the USSR. Do you not agree?

[Tikhonov] Yes, I think that this hypothesis is very close to the truth. In my view, Gorbachev's real program, his personal position, is in fact much more radical than the report read at the plenum. I think that he would be in favor of large-scale leasing of land but that he cannot ignore the views of the more conservative groups. For the latter, leasing is practicable only within the confines of the sovkhozes and kolkhozes. At all events, the future will disappoint them because I think that leasing will sooner or later become widespread outside the confines of the sovkhozes and kolkhozes.

[Cucurnia] How do you explain the fact that the peasants themselves are not particularly enthusiastic about the Kremlin offer and many of them refuse to lease land and farms?

[Tikhonov] The problem is that they are not sure of their rights. If a state law on land ownership, in particular the leasing of land, is approved, the doubts felt by many peasants will naturally be removed.

[Cucurnia] In his speech, Gorbachev spoke of widespread popular discontent caused by the country's serious food crisis. Do you think that this discontent might explode, Vladimir Aleksandreyevich?

[Tikhonov] I think that if the state fails to fill the market with food products and industrial consumers goods, this unrest might take on dimensions which we cannot now foresee. This is why I think that one of the Soviet Government's essential tasks is to saturate the domestic market with consumer goods as quickly as possible. It is not important whether the demand is satisfied by Soviet products or imported goods. I think that, at least in this initial phase, we must give serious consideration to increasing imports.

Gorbachev, Envoys Discuss Attitudes Abroad 15 Mar

LD1603180889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1748 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 16 Mar, (TASS)—On the evening of 15 March, Mikhail Gorbachev met the Soviet ambassadors taking part in the Central Committee plenum. They had a major conversation on the problems and prospects of restructuring in connection with the matters under discussion at the plenum and on the priority tasks of current foreign policy. The comrades shared their observations on attitudes abroad to the processes taking place in the USSR in the new stage of restructuring.

Taking part in the meeting were Vadim Medvedev, Eduard Shevardnadze, and Aleksandr Yakovlev.

Congress of Consumers Cooperatives on Reorganization

LD2003141789 Moscow TASS in English 1345 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 20 TASS—Assistance in the social reorganisation of the Soviet countryside is the principal subject of discussion at the twelfth Congress of Consumers' Cooperatives, which opened here on Monday.

More than 60 million rural people in the USSR are shareholders of consumers' cooperative societies—mass socio-economic organisation. They purchase farm produce, process a considerable part of it, run shops and catering establishments, and provide various services for the population. This sphere involves 3.5 million people of over 70 different trades.

In a message of greetings to the Congress, the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers emphasised that the cooperatives would perform their role more successfully if they deepen integration with collective and state farms, and build up food resources for better provision of residents in town and countryside.

The consumers' cooperative societies gradually got rid of the constraints of command-type management. This contributed to the fact that the number of consumers' cooperative societies increased by almost a third over the past year. The number of families and collectives that lease shops, cafes, and enterprises is growing. However, new economic forms win their way not without difficulty.

Pavel Fedirko, chairman of the board of the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperative Societies, delivered a report at the Congress, reporting that retail goods turnover of consumers' cooperatives would run at over 100 billion roubles this year. Ten billion roubles worth of goods would be turned out at more than 20,000 enterprises of the system of consumers' cooperatives.

The sale of fruit, vegetables, meat products, and some manufactured goods has increased. The latter is of particular importance because the supply of goods from centralised state stocks is insufficient.

Perestroyka, the speaker pointed out, gradually revitalises the countryside. People have come to feel support from the state and strive to occupy and land efficiently. [sentence as received] Lease holders have appeared, and peasants' small holdings, restrictions from which are being lifted, are being enlarged. New requirements have arisen in house construction, in the provision of amenities for the rural home, and small-scale machinery of individual use.

Although statistics concerning the growing scope of services are being given to rural people were cited at the congress, the effort is far from meeting the requirements to the full. In general, a critical approach determines the overall tone of Congress work.

Suggestions and ideas voiced from the rostrum of the Congress may help specify and enrich a draft concept of the economic and social development of consumers' cooperative societies for the period to 2005. The principal goal of the draft which is being elaborated is to double retail goods turnover of the consumers' cooperatives within the period and to increase the amount of services by 200-300 per cent.

Leadership Greets Congress

PM2103102189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[Greetings message from CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers to the 12th USSR Congress of Consumer Cooperatives]

[Text] To the 12th USSR Congress of Consumer Cooperatives

Dear comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers cordially greet the delegates to the 12th congress of the country's consumer cooperatives and, through you, all the members of consumer societies—kolkhoz members, sovkhoz workers and employees, and the rural intelligentsia.

Your congress is taking place at a time when restructuring in our society has moved into the plane of practical action. Intensive work is being done to implement the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and 19th all-union party conference. An economic reform is under way in the country and the foundations of a qualitatively new political system are being created.

The solution of vital tasks connected with increasing Soviet people's well-being and improving their living conditions is of extremely great importance for our advance along the path of socialist renewal. The CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum examined topical problems of the development of the countryside and the entire sphere of the agro-industrial complex. The party has devised an effective agrarian policy whose implementation will make it possible to solve the task of providing the country with steady food supplies. The decisions adopted at the Central Committee plenum envisage implementing radical changes in economic relations in the countryside, resolutely abandoning administrative-edict methods of leadership, and accelerating scientific and technical progress and the social development of the countryside.

Consumer cooperatives have a big part to play in implementing the tasks set by the CPSU Central Committee March Plenum to transform the countryside. Tsentrosoyuz and local cooperative unions and societies have great opportunities for organizing modern services for the rural population and for solving the tasks of rapidly building up food resources in order to better provide inhabitants of the countryside, cities, and industrial centers with them.

Consumer cooperatives must be further developed and they must resolutely restructure their work and eradicate shortcomings. The practice of distorting and even ignoring Lenin's theses on cooperatives led to the statization of the system and the establishment in it of methods of management based on issuing edicts and orders. The apparatus grew to an inordinate size and the cooperative members ceased to be in charge of their associations.

The CPSU sees the development of consumer cooperatives on a democratic basis as an important component of restructuring and of the qualitative renewal of Soviet society. It is necessary to reconstruct the cooperative system not in its old, oversimplified forms, but as a self-managing system of a high caliber that is well integrated, both internally and with kolkhozes and state enterprises and organizations. We need a highly efficient and well-equipped cooperative system capable of producing high-quality products and offering high-quality services.

On the basis of the USSR law "On the Cooperative System in the USSR" it is necessary to ensure the all-around development of cooperative democracy so that the members run all the affairs of consumer societies and unions. Cooperatives must be inherently resourceful and enterprising and ensure a harmonious combination of personal, cooperative, and state interests.

It would be right for your congress to pay special attention to strengthening consumer societies as the basic component of the system, and to improving their efficiency in accordance with the principles of complete economic accountability. It is important not only to revive liquidated consumer societies, but also to create on the basis of them primary components of the cooperative system to carry out a full range of economic activities: trade operations, organization of public catering, purchasing and primary processing of agricultural products, and production of foodstuffs.

Cooperative organizations have a major responsibility for tackling issues connected with the social reorganization of the countryside, raising the rural population's living standard, and improving services, especially in small and remote population centers. The task is to enable rural inhabitants to obtain the foodstuffs, industrial goods, and agricultural equipment they require on the spot, to obtain various types of consumer services, to give rural workers assistance in constructing their own housing, and to develop the production of construction materials and consumer goods.

In restructuring conditions it is vitally important to intensify integration between cooperative organizations, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes, to expand purchases from livestock-raising farms and farms growing fruit and vegetables and other products, and to create joint enterprises to process them.

Consumer societies and their unions are urged to stimulate production on personal plots, in orchard and truck garden associations, and by lessees and cooperatives. It is necessary to help citizens acquire equipment, fertilizers, and feed for livestock and poultry, and farm their personal plots. It is necessary to ensure the guaranteed sale of all the products grown by the population. Reciprocal sales of industrial goods for which there is a keen demand must be practiced more widely. It is necessary to persistently develop a network of combined rural procurement and processing enterprises, making extensive use of local raw material resources. They must participate directly in organizing regional food self-sufficiency.

It is the task of party, soviet, and economic organs to give consumer cooperatives every assistance and support, to contribute to the democratization of their activity, and to shift their attention sharply toward intensifying multisectoral cooperative activities, assimilating the achievements of scientific and technical progress and frontranking experience, and strengthening all components with skilled cadres capable of operating in the new way.

Soviet cooperative workers should further expand mutually advantageous cooperation with the cooperative movement abroad. They must be bolder in developing commercial links and setting up joint enterprises, and they must study and utilize useful experience better.

Your congress is also significant in the fact that the delegates are to elect people's deputies. Members have been given the opportunity to delegate their plenipotentiary representatives to the country's leadership. There is no doubt that they will include authoritative cooperative members who are active participants in restructuring.

The CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers have faith in the creative powers of consumer cooperative workers and are deeply convinced that cooperative workers will make an even bigger and more tangible contribution to solving the vitally important problems of the countryside and of our society in general.

We wish your congress fruitful work.

[Signed] CPSU Central Committee
USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
USSR Council of Ministers

Congress Continues 21 Mar

LD2103065889 Moscow TASS in English 0647 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—The twelfth congress of the Soviet Consumers' Cooperative Societies, the country's largest socio-economic organisation, has been going on in the Grand Kremlin Palace for the second day.

Fifteen hundred delegates from all over the Soviet Union are discussing urgent problems concerning the trade service for rural people. Forty per cent of the country's population engage the services of the consumers' cooperative societies. Much attention at the congress is devoted to foreign economic activities.

Soviet consumers' cooperative societies now maintain trade exchanges with 200 cooperative organisations and firms from 40 countries. Along with barter operations, cooperative organisations strive to establish direct trade and production contacts and joint ventures, commercial and joint-stock companies.

Six joint firms are now in operation. They have been established, in particular, together with the Hungarian Temaforg, the Czechoslovak Interhalko, and the Japanese Sonico.

Direct exchanges are maintained on a non-currency basis between 180 cooperative organisations of the USSR and associations from Bulgaria, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

It was pointed out at the congress that the Tsentrosoyuz—the Central Council of Soviet Consumer Cooperatives, most fruitfully participates in the activities of the international cooperative alliance, and contacts with cooperative organisations of developed capitalist countries have gained in scope.

An agreement on joint effort with the U.S. National Cooperative Business Association had been signed in 1986, and contacts were established with another big U.S. cooperative association, the National Council of Farmers' Cooperatives, last year.

Contacts with cooperatives from Japan, Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Austria developed intensively. The first contacts were established with counterparts from Australia, Brazil, and Peru, and ties with Greece, Italy, Spain, Sweden, and Finland were traditionally close.

Contacts with the cooperative organisations of Arab states have grown considerably stronger. Much attention is given to the provision of assistance in the training of personnel for cooperative organisations of foreign countries. Twelve hundred people from 60 countries have undergone training in the Soviet Union over the past five years.

Some People's Deputies Elected; Campaign Continues

Latvian Candidate on Independence

PM2003145389 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 8 Mar 89 p 3

[Report by E. Lapidus and Z. Morozova under the rubric "Meetings with Voters": "Independence or Dependence: Did Candidate E. Repshe Demonstrate His Opinions to Voters of No 708 Proletarskiy Territorial Okrug?"]

[Text] "What is your attitude toward the Communist Party?"

"It is a party of collaborationists. It is hostile to the Latvian people. But it could be transformed and exist in the conditions of a multiparty system, as just one of the parties...."

If this significant exchange had taken place within a narrow circle of friends, at a meeting of like-minded people, or at a "spontaneous" rally where people unburden themselves at will, so to speak, into the microphone, nothing would have come of it. Especially now, when pluralism of opinions has become the universally accepted norm of our daily existence. Everyone has the right to hold any viewpoint, even a maximalist viewpoint.

But on this occasion these words were spoken at a meeting of voters with a candidate. The question had been asked from the hall. The answer had been given by the candidate for USSR people's deputy.

The audience reacted to his response in different ways. Some were sharply negative. Others applauded. But let us give the speaker his due: He may be accused of some things, but one thing he could not be accused of is a lack of total candor.

Let us introduce the candidate. Eynars Repshe was born in Yelgava. He is not a party member. He is married. Three years ago he graduated from the Latvian P. Stuchki State University. He is a physicist by profession. He is an engineer at the special design bureau of scientific instrument making in the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences Polymer Mechanics Institute. He is a member of the council of the Movement for the National Independence of Latvia. He is editor of the Movement for the National Independence of Latvia's organ—the journal NEATKARIBA (Independence). He is standing as candidate for the No 708 Proletarskiy Electoral Okrug.

Meetings between voters and contenders for a seat in the country's highest body of state power are now being held every day. Why do candidates go to these meetings? To promote themselves, as they say: to present their program and get people's interest, their support, and, ultimately, their votes, of course. Obviously, the more specific the program and the more fully it corresponds to the needs, requirements, and interests of the voters, the greater chance the candidate has of emerging the victor on 26 March.

But let us return to the conversation in the assembly hall of Riga's No 20 Secondary School. It lasted for an hour. Something in the region of 200 people attended—mainly middle-aged and elderly people. There were enough chairs for those who turned up a bit earlier, but the rest had to shift from one foot to the other, holding their coats and hats in their arms. Obviously, it would not have required any great effort on the part of the meeting's organizers to see that there were extra chairs and somewhere for people to hang their coats.

So what did E. Repshe offer to his audience? How does he intend to attract the voters?

We must warn the reader in advance that we do not intend to comment on his stance. In our opinion, any commentary is superfluous in this context. Whether you applaud the candidate or not is up to you.

The main theses in the program of E. Repshe are as follows:

"I am in favor of full independence for Latvia. I believe that only in conditions of independence can the republic's economy flourish."

"We were incorporated into the Soviet Union by force in 1940. Now there is talk of sovereignty and economic accountability, but within the union. This merely testifies that they want to swindle us again. The USSR must officially condemn the events of 1940 and admit that the annexation of the Baltic states to the Soviet Union was similar to Germany's Anschluss of Austria."

"During the years it existed as a sovereign state Latvia proved that it could not only restore its devastated economy but develop to the level of Holland and Denmark."

"We must work for an independent state by peaceful means; I am in favor of parliamentary forms of struggle."

"The Soviet Government must observe the provisions of the treaties concluded with Latvia prior to 1940. No one has abolished these treaties."

"Latvia must be a rule-of-law state. An investigation must be conducted and those guilty of deportations and bloody crimes condemned and brought to trial."

"Parliamentary democracy must be a multiparty democracy. If one party cannot resolve the tasks, another should be allowed to try."

"There must be competition between the different forms of ownership. The land should belong to the peasants."

As we can see, the candidate's platform is very politicized, sufficiently specific, and does not exceed the limits of the Movement for the National Independence of Latvia program.

Let us deviate slightly from the meeting and remember the appraisal of this movement and its program given by the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee January Plenum:

"We must now frankly say that there are some small but quite aggressive groups in our republic which, by speculating on our economic, social, interethnic, and ecological problems, are making active efforts to whip up anti-Soviet, separatist feelings. It is primarily a question of groups such as 'Helsinki-86' and the 'Movement for the National Independence of Latvia' and their leaders, Yu. Vidinsh and E. Berklave."

This assessment was confirmed by a recent session of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

It would be no exaggeration to say that people's political activeness in the election campaign process is growing literally by the hour rather than by the day. It is therefore understandable why many people are no longer satisfied when a candidate for deputy limits his program to general propositions. It is now no longer enough to explain what a candidate wants to do; what is far more important is how he intends to achieve the goal he has set himself, plus his personal estimation of particular facts. So the audience was not indifferent to E. Repshe's platform.

Question: Do you believe that Latvia will gain independence?

Answer: I believe deeply that empires can no longer exist. If African countries have been able to cast off the yoke of colonization, there is no reason why we should not do the same. Independent states were formed as a result of the 1917 revolution. Now we too are talking about revolutionary transformations. And the Baltic republics are in the vanguard.

Question: What is the aim of your standing in the elections?

Answer: I am taking part in order to gain experience in political struggle, using the rostrum to propagandize the ideas of the Movement for the National Independence of Latvia. I am not a rival of Yuris Dobelis (one of the six candidates for the No 708 okrug—editorial note), but a cofighter. At a certain stage in the election campaign one of us will stand down as candidate.

Question: Which organizations, in your opinion, could become political parties?

Answer: The Latvian People's Front, the Movement for the National Independence of Latvia, the Environmental Protection Club, even "Helsinki-86"—in other words, all real movements. Including the International Front. It would comprise one block with the Communist Party.

Question: What kind of system would there be in an independent Latvia, and would there be exploitation in such a system?

Answer: There is always exploitation. That is not the point. What is important is where everything goes once it has been produced. As far as the system is concerned, obviously it would have to be democratic. When there is a sovereign state it will choose the system most acceptable to it. We must follow the path we have chosen. A considerably important role could be played by the elections to the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet. Much depends on the people's initiative and energy. The most important thing is to stop the migration and begin remigration. But this will be a gradual process.

Question: You are standing as candidate for deputy in an electoral okrug where a considerable number of Russians live. Could you not also present your program in Russian? [Question ends]

This was followed by a suggestion from the presidium that those people who only speak Russian raise their hands. This provoked uproar in the audience and remarks about observing democracy and how the announcement of the meeting had said: "The candidate willingly speaks in both languages." In the end E. Repshe agreed to present his program in Russian. But, evidently distracted by answering the questions, he forgot to carry out his promise.

Question: Your program runs counter to the USSR Constitution....

Answer: It is not just my program. It is the program of the Latvian people. I do not recognize Latvia as a republic of the USSR.

Question: But you are, after all, standing as candidate for people's deputy of the USSR. It is paradoxical....

Answer: Yes, it is.

Question: The Movement for the National Independence of Latvia is joining the People's Front, which has said more than once that it will fight for social justice. How, in this connection, do you regard the fact that D. Ivans has been given an apartment with living space of more than 100 square metres?

Answer: I do not know anything about this. But Ivans has four children and a higher education, and he has the right to an apartment.

Question: You have talked of forming a national army. Do you know the approximate cost of maintaining such an army?

Answer: No, I do not. [Repshe ends]

[Questioner] Several billion rubles. Where is this money going to come from?

[Repshe] Where do they get the money from to maintain the occupying troops?

[Questioner] But there are no occupying troops in Latvia....

[Repshe] There are—the Soviet troops. (Repshe ends]

...The atmosphere in the hall gradually grew more heated.

Question: Just suppose that Latvia were to secede from the Soviet Union. Where are you going to sell our agricultural produce?

Answer: In the Soviet Union, which has a very great need of our products.

Question: But the amount of agricultural products supplied by the republic is only just over 1 percent for the country as a whole. What will you do if the Soviet Union refuses?

Answer: That is no longer your concern but ours.... [Repshe ends]

The reaction to this reply or, to be more precise, to its intonation, was immediate: Some of the voters left the hall.

Question: Dobelis has said that much of your program is naive. Do you yourself feel that it has any shortcomings?

Answer: The main thing is to attain independence for Latvia. We will be able to work out all the rest later. [Repshe ends]

...We are sure that the voters will also be able to "work things out" in private themselves: to decide whether or not to vote for E. Repshe 26 March.

Academy of Sciences Begins Election

LD2003121389 Moscow TASS in English 1155 GMT 20 Mar 89

["Scientists' Election Meeting Opens Amid Controversy"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow March 20 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Ivan Ivanov:

The first three days of this week may become the "hottest" spring days for Soviet scientists—a meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences opened on Monday to elect USSR people's deputies from the organisation.

Since the middle of January when candidates were chosen from the academy the event has been hotly discussed both inside and outside science. Many scientists were unsatisfied by the results of the voting. From 121 contenders for 20 deputy mandates only 23 people were chosen as candidates from the Academy of Sciences after secret voting. Such authoritative scientists as Academicians Roald Sagdeyev, Andrey Sakhorov and Tatyana Zaslavskaya who had been nominated as candidates by many academic scientific organisations were not elected. The results of the voting were widely discussed in mass media. A demonstration of scientific staff took place in front of the USSR Academy of Sciences building in Moscow at the beginning of February. The several hundred participants demanded another nomination of candidates for deputies process, arguing that "only representatives of the academy's authorities participated in voting and they didn't take into consideration the opinion of scientists."

At the same time vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Vladimir Kudryavtsev, told TASS that 121 candidates had been nominated by institutes and scientific organisations. "Among 200 academicians and corresponding members of the academy participating in the voting two months ago there were only 30 members of the Presidium. That is why to speak about 'invalidity' of the election is, at least, tactless," the academican said.

Together with academicians and corresponding members of the academy representatives of the collectives which nominated the candidates are participating in the meeting—altogether 1,108 people. They will look through all suggestions and criticism about the candidates, discuss their programmes and elect deputies. The session will also adopt a mandate of the USSR academy of the sciences to the people's deputies.

The meeting will continue for three days.

Science Academy 'Passionate Debates'

LD2003161489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1432 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 20 Mar (TASS)—TASS Correspondent Ivan Ivanov reports:

Numerous journalists who were present at the session of the General Meeting of USSR Academy of Sciences that has opened, and which is to elect 20 USSR people's deputies, today witnessed passionate debates between the most famous Soviet scientists.

Even an hour before the session began its work, groups of representatives of the capital's scientific community had gathered at the doors of the Moscow Palace of Youth, where the session is being held, with slogans "No to bureaucracy in the academy. Hold a second nomination of candidates", and "Do not allow anarchy—vote for the nominated candidates." Members of the Academy themselves today spoke from the rostrum from more or less the same mutually exclusive positions.

The cause of these disagreements lies in the procedure for the nomination 2 months ago of the candidates for deputy. As Academician Vladimir Kotelnikov, chairman of the Electoral Commission for Election of Deputies From the USSR Academy of Sciences, explained, originally 25 seats were allocated to the Academy. However, as a result of secret voting by academicians and corresponding members, of the 121 contenders nominated by collectives of the Academy's scientific establishments, only 23 scientists obtained the necessary number of votes. In the course of the nominations, by agreement with the Central Electoral Commission, it was decided to give the Academy 20 seats and to transfer 5 to the organization of scientific societies and associations under the USSR Academy of Sciences, which also have the right to nominate their own candidates. Among the 23 candidates, there was only 1 scientist who was not a member of the Academy.

"The USSR Academy of Sciences is not just the academicians and the corresponding members, it includes institutes where science is done", Academician Andrey Sakharov, who 2 months ago did not receive the necessary number of votes for nomination as a candidate, stressed in his speech. In his opinion, the nomination of candidates has evoked "a great deal of indignation" of the scientific community, "not because Sakharov did not get nominated, but because we have ignored the role of the scientific establishments," which did not take part in the voting on nomination of candidates. Not only the 905 members were invited to the session of the general meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences which opened today, but also 544 representatives of scientific collectives, who will also participate in voting on selection of deputies, were invited.

Corresponding member of the Academy Vladimir Mshvenieradze, speaking at the session, called for the voting to be approached responsibly, stressing that Soviet scientists have gained a unique opportunity to exert a direct influence on the adoption of political decisions. "The participation of authoritative scientists in the work of the country's supreme legislative body will make it possible to intellectualize the political process in the USSR," he stressed.

Guriy Marchuk, president of the Academy, explains the phenomenon of the current elections by the fact that "all of Soviet society, including the Academy, is going through an historic moment—the transition to people's power has really started to be implemented in the USSR. The main thing is that the deputies being elected will represent not only the interests of the Academy, but first and foremost the interests of social development of the country as whole."

The final stage of the "marathon", the actual election of people's deputies from the USSR Academy of Sciences, is planned to begin tomorrow at 1000.

Announcement of CPSU Elections Viewed

PM2003205189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Vladimir Nadein report under general rubric "Elections of USSR People's Deputies": "Topics of the Day: This Is Unprecedented"]

[Text] The Electoral Commission announcement on the election of USSR People's Deputies from the CPSU ranks among the documents on the basis of which our times will be studied. This is unprecedented. The party's readiness to live in accordance with the laws of restructuring has been proven for the first time with utmost simplicity and cogency. Without making exceptions for itself. Without leniency toward itself.

Among the questions discussed with lively interest by the public on the eve of the plenum, the following loomed largest: Will the principle of unanimity [yedinoglasiye] continue to prevail in the future too? And will it not be concealed behind the no-less-insidious principle of "consensus" ["yedinodushiye"], even if unanimity [yedinoglasiye] does not work out for some reason?

There were some grounds for such deliberations. As is known, the January plenum had proposed 100 candidates for 100 seats. Unanimously. And with equal unanimity (with one small reservation in the shape of one abstention) each of the 100 candidacies was confirmed.

The first answer to these questions was supplied by the aforementioned announcement: It was a ballot. A real ballot. A secret, direct, and fair ballot. Otherwise the 12 votes cast against M.S. Gorbachev, would have been, frankly speaking, unlikely.

Naturally, the support for the policy of the general secretary was expressed most eloquently in the 629 votes "for." But the 12 votes "against" are also a result of restructuring in the minds of the party's top echelon.

Two prominent representatives of the party leadership received the greatest number of votes "against." Seventy-eight people voted against Ye.K. Ligachev, and 59 "no" votes were addressed to A.N. Yakovlev. The public is familiar with the political stances of these two Central Committee secretaries from a series of public apperances. Both comrades are known for their firm and impassioned defense of their own approaches to solving problems. It is not surprising that the frankness of the stances of Ye.K. Ligachev and A.N. Yakovlev has evoked both the ardent backing of their supporters and the active resistance of their opponents.

This characteristic feature of a sharply pronounced political stance is clearly visible also in a number of other results. The popularity of actor M.A. Ulyanov is truly nationwide. And the 47 votes "against" him do by no means obliterate it. They merely indicate how nonstandard is his civic approach to problems of restructuring.

The Electoral Commission announcement on the election of deputies from the CPSU will be discussed and commented on many more times. The reasons why the interest being displayed in the personalities of the Central Committee secretaries was reflected—paradoxically at first glance—in the number of votes "against" will be analyzed. (V.P. Nikonov—26, L.N. Zaykov—25, V.A. Medvedev—22, N.N. Slyunkov—19, G.P. Razumovskiy—18.) However, it is possible to ponder right now why 52 candidates were elected unanimously.

Why? Let us examine this phenomenon from the example of G.A. Ilizarov. Many people will remember the battles that were fought around this outstanding surgeon when he was elected to the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences. In the medical world Gavriil Abramovich is an irrepressible innovator, disturber of peace and quiet, a fighter. Hence the lack of indifference, if I may put it this way, on the part of his colleagues to his candidacy. The purely political stance of G.A. Ilizarov, on the other hand, does not stand out by any distinctive features. It does not infringe anyone's political interests, and hence it does not evoke active opposition.

Maybe this view is not entirely correct. The answer to this doubt will be provided only by the practical work of the USSR people's deputies in fulfilling the party's mandates. Nonetheless it is difficult to simply reject the supposition that it is precisely the 52 deputies who were elected unanimously who are faced in the coming period with making a weightier and more definite personal contribution to the political struggle.

Electoral Commission Meets 17 Mar

PM2003084589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "In the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies"]

[Text] The latest session of the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies was held in the House of the Unions in Moscow 17 March.

It examined the question of procedure for the publication of the results of the elections of USSR people's deputies. It is planned to publish a Central Electoral Commission announcement on the election results and a list of USSR people's deputies not later than 10 days after the elections.

Having heard a report by USSR Minister of Communications V.A. Shamshin, the commission took cognizance of the fact that communications organs are ready to receive and transmit reports by electoral commissions on the election results and to deliver ward commission protocols within the time limits and according to the procedures laid down by the Central Electoral Commission.

The session examined the procedure for reception of telegraph reports and protocols from okrug electoral commissions and some other questions concerning the concluding stage of preparations for the election of USSR people's deputies.

Taking part in the commission's session were T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; leaders of public organizations; and representatives of the mass media.

Election Day Voting Procedure Explained

PM2003113589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 18 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS correspondent report under the rubric "Our Information": "You Have Come To Vote"; first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] "This year the elections of USSR people's deputies from the electoral okrugs are being held in a new way. I should like to find out in advance about the voting procedure. A. Perminova, Murmansk."

A TASS correspondent was told at the Central Electoral Commission that on the day of the elections of USSR people's deputies—26 March 1989—each voter, on entering the premises assigned for voting, will receive ballot papers from members of the sector electoral commission. In accordance with article 52 of the Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies, each voter votes personally and voting by proxy is not allowed.

The sector electoral commission issues ballot papers on the basis of the electoral list or proof of the right to vote upon presentation of a passport or other document of identity. As a rule each voter will be issued with two ballot papers: one white (for elections from the territorial electoral okrug), the other blue (for elections from a union republic national-territorial electoral okrug). In the autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous okrugs, the voter will receive a third, pink, ballot paper (for elections from the national-territorial okrug of the autonomous republic, autonomous oblast, or autonomous okrug).

With a view to safeguarding the guarantee of the universal right to vote, the Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies stipulates that in cases where individual voters, because of their state of health or for other reasons, cannot visit the polling premises, the sector electoral commission, at their request, instructs individual members of the commission to organize voting at these voters' place of residence (article 52).

A sufficient number of booths or rooms for secret voting are equipped in the premises assigned for voting. Here the ballot boxes are installed in such a way that the voters, on approaching them, must pass through the booths or rooms for secret voting.

Having received his ballot papers the voter enters the booth or room for secret voting and in it he fills in the papers, that is he crosses out in the papers the names of the candidates he is voting against. Here it is forbidden for anyone whomsoever to be present in the booth.

In cases where two or more candidate deputies are on the ballot paper, the voter should leave the name of just the one candidate deputy for whom he is voting, crossing out the names of all other candidates. If the names of all candidate deputies on the paper are crossed out it is considered that the voter has voted against each of them.

In cases where one candidate deputy is on the ballot paper, the voter leaves his name on the paper if he is voting for him or crosses out the candidate's name if he is voting against him.

It should be borne in mind that ballot papers on which more than one candidate deputy has been left when voting are deemed null and void.

* Official on Procedures, Problems

18000659 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
15 Mar 89 Morning Edition pp 1, 4

[Interview with Professor G. Barabashev, doctor of juridicial sciences, member of the Central Electoral Commission by V. Shchepotkin: "Authority and Responsibility"; date, place not specified]

[Text] [Shchepotkin] One of the peculiarities of the current electoral commission is that the candidate himself may elect his own proxies. Up to ten. Thus, the majority of the candidates have done so. And the proxies began the great task of representing their interests. After all, one must appear at various organizations, come to terms on the location and time of the candidates' meeting with the voters, take care of the release of handbills and posters, etc. All this takes time. And not only the free time that a person has left after work. Many concerns fall during the work day. However, judging by the appeals to IZVESTIYA, here and there, proxies are not being let off from work, and are being threatened with harsh measures, including dismissal, in the event that they take time off. Therefore, Georgiy Vasilyevich, my first question is, what rights do these proxies have, and how are these rights guaranteed?

[Barabashev] They are guaranteed by law. The law provides for the proxies' participation in all measures connected with the campaign. This means that certain conditions must be created for them to do that. In fulfilling this law, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet in its 9 March 1989 resolution stipulated that, in accordance with the norms of labor legislation, in the RSFSR Labor Code, this is article 111; there are analogous articles in the codes of other republics, at the request of the candidate for people's deputy, the proxies are released from the execution of production or service responsibilities while maintaining their average salary at their place of work.

Considering that many enterprises and organizations have gone over to khozraschet, the resolution provides for this moment as well. It is noted that the expenses incurred by enterprises, institutions and organizations will be recompensed upon request from the funds allocated for conducting elections.

But proxies must at times travel on their candidates' business somewhere within the district limits. In this event, official trips must be arranged. They are also reimbursed.

[Shchepotkin] By whom?

[Barabashev] By the enterprise, organization or institution where the given proxy works. And they in turn may submit a request to the district electoral commission to recompense these expenses on the account of funds released for conducting elections.

[Shchepotkin] Then, hindering the proxy, in the form of not releasing him from work to execute his pre-election-responsibilities can be considered illegal?

[Barabashev] Yes, and that should be kept in mind.

[Shchepotkin] Now a second question from a group of the most frequently asked questions of the day. About the unequal opportunities for the candidates in the course of the pre-election struggle. One candidate, a leader of an enterprise, a party or social organ, has the opportunity to publish a massive printing of colorful posters with his program and biography, and another, whether a worker, a kolkhoz worker, a doctor, a regular engineer, cannot even expect a simple handbill about himself. You look at what the voters brought from Dnepropetrovsk. An entire package of documents. Here is a garish poster with the photograph and program of a candidate for USSR people's deputy for industrial district No 423, commander of the southern group of forces, Lt. Gen Matvey Prokopyevich Burlakov. It was printed at the printing press of the newspaper VO SLAVU RODINY. Here is his congratulatory message for Soviet Army and Navy Day. It is printed in printed style, with a signature: "Your candidate for deputy..." followed by his position and title. Here is his message for 8 March [International Women's Day]. An edition of 10,000. The signature: "Your candidate for USSR people's deputy...." I am sure that the candidate is not the issue here, only the activities of the "initiative group."

There is, however, another candidate in the district. He is local scientist Bronislav Mecheslavovich Klimkovskiy, associate of All-Union Scientific Research Institute of the mechanics of ferrous metallurgy. He does not have the opportunities at the printing press which his opponent has.

But that is not the whole of it. Here is a picture of an announcement calling upon people not to attend a meeting with the scientist. Here are copies of the handbills distributed in mail boxes. One of them accuses Klimkovskiy of allegedly calling for new repression. What is this? How can this be in accordance with the law?

[Barabashev] You have introduced one fact, yet there are many of them. For example, in one election district in the UzSSR city of Nagoi, the Party gorkom secretary and the director of an enterprise are on the ballot. For each candidate, the district commission prepared an equal quantity of posters. It warned that having someone else make up extras would not be allowed. But in spite of this, the business leader prepared three thousand extra posters at his enterprise. What can be said here? Of course, it is for the voters to judge who will be the deputy. And they will judge conscientiously. And here, the responsibility of the district commissions is to provide equal opportunities for all of the candidates to state their positions. But what do we see? Many wealthy enterprises and organizations broadly use their financial and material opportunities to campaign for their candidate, especially if he is a leader; they publish splendid posters, handbills, and even 8 March congratulations on behalf of the candidate. The question arises: at whose expense? After all, according to the law, in the financial respect, conducting elections is provided for by the state, not by the enterprises, organizations and institutions. Therefore, I repeat, at whose expense? At the expense of funds for social development? But was the permission of the collective received for this? When the enterprise campaigns for its director, using its own printing works and its own financial opportunities, this is a violation of the economic rights of the given enterprise, a direct infringement of legality, and, I feel, it should not be excluded that in such a case it is no sin for the procuracy to get involved, in order to find out where the money so widely used to support a given candidate is coming from. And we must hurry, because such practices are becoming more widespread day by day, as a result of which various candidates have completely different material opportunities to campaign for themselves.

This is one side of the issue, one path to the discrimination against one candidate to the advantage of another. Here and there, impermissible campaign tactics against a candidate are allowed. A certain vein of handbills, posters and letters trashing the candidates are becoming widespread. Here is one example for you from that mass of Dnepropetrovsk documents. Photographs of an announcement urging people not to attend a meeting with Klimkovskiy. This is a stark specimen of unethical, and, I would say, illegal conduct of campaign work against a candidate. Here it is falsely asserted that the candidate is bad in principle, and in essence, an obstacle is created for the citizen in the realization of his right to be elected. Incidentally, on this score there is an article in the Criminal Code, stipulating criminal responsibility, in part, for hindering the execution of the passive right to vote, that is, the right to be elected. And in spite of the fact that some Dnepropetrovsk documents are anonymous, it seems to me nevertheless that the internal affairs organs and the procuracy will hardly let these facts slip past them.

I can add something else. The issue arose in its time: if enterprises, institutions or organizations are going to spend state resources, the money of labor collectives, on the candidates' support, then perhaps the population and initiative groups should also collect funds to support one or another candidate? But the Central Electoral Commission did not choose such a variant. However, if the creation of population funds is considered impossible, the other variant must be forbidden, and, in the event of a violation, it absolutely must be asked, and for the use of the resources of the enterprises, organizations and institutions for conducting the campaign. After all, this is direct evidence of utilization of a service position by responsible individuals, and that is impermissible.

[Shchepotkin] There is still time before election day. Therefore, it is perhaps still early to speak of the organization of the polling places for conducting the voting. Yet various recommendations have already been published, and it is becoming clear that we must speak about it soon. For example, in one magazine, three variations for organizing polling places were cited. In all three examples, the voters' path was indicated with arrows, and it bypassed the booths for secret balloting. In addition, the voting booths are set up such that a person with a ballot must go to each, and in two variations, within direct view of the members of the electoral commission. We can agree that where there are two candidates on the ballot, this is still tolerable: The voter must turn toward the booth all the same, in order to cross out one name. But where there is one candidate? Will everyone be bold enough to stop in the booth if they know that this could be assessed as disloyalty to the one, albeit highly qualified candidate? Are the right recommendations being made, Georgiy Vasilyevich?

[Barabashev] The answer to that question has to be based on the law. The law clearly states, and this thought is repeated in the letter of the Central Electoral Commission to all area commissions, that the ballot boxes be positioned so that the voters must pass by the booths or rooms for secret balloting as they approach them. Thus, any plans and recommendations must be solely oriented to requiring the voter to stop in the booth. Having one candidate on the ballot or several is not significant, the path must go by the booth. Any other set-up contradicts the law.

[Shchepotkin] But let us refine the concept: the secret ballot. If I understand this correctly, in the booth, one secretly, alone with one's self, conscience and thoughts, crosses out someone's name and leaves someone else's name there. However, one is required to drop the ballot into the ballot box under the eyes of the members of the area electoral commission and representatives of the public, in order to eliminate the possibility of violation.

[Barabashev] Absolutely right. The booth or room for secret balloting must be absolutely sealed to outsiders' eyes. As far as the ballot box is concerned, it must be absolutely open to observation. Everyone must be able to see whether someone has dropped in one ballot or however many he is supposed to, and not a bunch. Here, the supervision of the members of the area commission, as well as the representatives of the public can only be of use.

[Shchepotkin] Now we have approached a question bothering many people today. This is the matter of the presence on election day of representatives of the public and the press at the polling places. It should be mentioned that people are already worrying in various places. Inquiries come from Kiev, Gorkiy, Sverdlovsk and Alma-Ata. Literally on the eve of my meeting with you, a call came in from Leningrad. They asked me to explain something, citing that they were told by the area commission for election district No 54 in Moscow that the applications from workers' collectives and the public were accepted here only until 12 March. How should people be answered?

[Barabashev] First of all, about the delegation process. The representatives of the labor collectives must be divided among the soviets of these labor collectives, since the conduct of the meetings and conferences is too unwieldy an undertaking. It is necessary to furnish people with document establishing their authority. Representatives from social organizations are delegated by local election organs.

Now, as for the voters' meetings. They also have the right to send their representatives to the polling places. Since the law does not stipulate much, the convocation of such meetings must be realized on the basis of the republic's current proposition on the conduct of general meetings, gatherings of citizens at their residences. Who must conduct these meetings? It would be best if the organs of social activity conducted them: the building, street, block and village committees, the councils of social microrayons in accordance with the ispolkom or the notification of the ispolkom. May the district commission or ispolkom decide which meetings to conduct in which areas, and where they should not be conducted? No. The voters themselves decide this, their initiative groups, although social organizations may act as initiators.

I do not think that we have to say much about the proxies. They have their identification passes, and they have the right to be in attendance at the polling places at all times.

[Shchepotkin] And the press?

[Barabashev] The presence of the press is also stipulated by law. But since we are not speaking about workers of this profession in general, but of the representative of concrete publications, television and radio, they also must have the appropriate directions from their editorial boards and committees.

[Shchepotkin] To whom must the representatives of the labor collectives, the public and the press apply?

[Barabashev] To the commission whose work they wish to observe. To the area and district commissions.

[Shchepotkin] And if they are told that in a given area too many applications have already been received, and their request is denied? What will happen then?

[Barabashev] Apply to the district commission, so that it may select another area.

[Shchepotkin] Has any sort of time limit been established, after which applications may not be filed?

[Barabashev] After discussing this issue, the Central Electoral Commission decided on three days for this limit. It is inadvisable to drag this further away from election day. That could give some commission the opportunity to try to generally block access to the polling places for the representatives of the public and the press. That call from Leningrad you spoke of strongly reminded me of such a desire. But it cannot be any closer to election day, either. Time must be allowed to protest denials. All the more so as conflicts are bound to arise. The public, cautioned by previous, overly successful elections, which were prone to juggling and deception, is now trying to send as many of its representatives as possible to the vote-counting process.

[Shchepotkin] The issues we have discussed are not the only ones characteristic of this final phase of the election campaign. At this same time, the voters' proposed agendas are usually given. However, in the dust of the pre-election struggle, we have somehow forgotten about them. I, for example, have not come across any information about this. Could this be right?

[Barabashev] Of course not. The thing is that the law does not stipulate the procedure of acceptance of agendas of the voters under the new election system. It used to be simpler. One candidate—all the agendas. Now, when there are two or three candidates, even more, the problem arises: to whom to propose the agenda? One gets through, and what becomes of the agendas proposed to the others? Then they do not get any attention? This, after all, is impermissible. Agendas are not given to personalities. They are given to a mandate. Therefore, although the law did not envision this situation, a way out must be found right away.

[Shchepotkin] Perhaps an agenda bank should be created? Voter Viola Vasilyevna Sakulina suggested this in IZVESTIYA.

[Barabashev] This could be called a bank; it could be called an agenda package. This package must be presented at a pre-election meeting, attended by all of the candidates. Then, independent of who goes on, the agenda package will be in effect. This is one variant. A second is possible. The agenda is given to the candidate at a meeting with the voters, and a copy is sent to the district commission. After the deputy is elected, he is entrusted with selecting the agenda. True, there is one flaw with this variant: the Deputy cannot react to the agenda as is received. After all, he will accept some items and reject other for various reasons. Therefore, the first variant is probably the more realistic one. Toward the end of the election campaign, the district commission gathers at one of the last candidate meetings and hands each an agenda package.

Today, there is still time, but we must hurry. Election day is near, and so far we have heard only the candidates' programs. The voters' proposed agendas are waiting for their hour.

* Procedures for Resolving Anomalies

18000654 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 15 Mar 89 p 1

[Unattributed article: "How To Conduct Repeat Voting"]

[Text] In cases when the number of elected deputies has turned out to be less than the number of mandates and when the elections from a public organization have been recognized as invalid, the Central Election Commission at the suggestion of the unionwide agency of the social organization makes a decision to conduct repeat elections from the given social organization—this was reported to a TASS correspondent in the Central Election Commission.

Here the Central Electoral Commission can give instructions for the corresponding electoral commission to hold the elections with the previous composition of personnel or it can ask the unionwide agency of the public organization for an electoral commission with a new composition of personnel. The unionwide agency of the public organization can also make a decision for the corresponding electoral commission to hold repeat elections with the previous or new personnel.

The proposals for candidates for USSR people's deputies can be submitted at the congress or conference of the public organization that is convened for the elections of USSR people's deputies or at an expanded plenum of the unionwide agency, but the nomination is made by the unionwide agency of the corresponding public organization. As a rule, the candidacies that are brought up for discussion are the ones that have received broad support in the lower organizations during the period of the basic nomination of candidates for people's deputies.

The candidates are considered to be nominated if more than half of the members of the unionwide agency of the public organization have voted for them.

A decision is also made to convene a congress, conference, or plenum for voting in repeat elections of USSR people's deputies from the given public organization no sooner than 2 weeks after the main elections in the corresponding organization and no later than 2 months after the general elections.

When candidates for deputies withdraw or their candidacies are removed by the unionwide agency or the candidates themselves directly at the congress or conference of the public organization or the plenum of its unionwide agency, as a result of which the number of candidates for deputies is less than the number of available mandates, the congress, conference, or plenum can make a decision to nominate additional candidates for deputies with a discussion of the candidates on a democratic basis in keeping with articles 39 and 42 of the Law on Elections.

Znaniye Society Elections Held

PM2003090389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[G. Yakovlev report under the rubric "Elections of USSR People's Deputies": "To Know in Order To Build"]

[Text] Elections of USSR people's deputies proceeded without any special debates at an enlarged plenum of the all-union "Znaniye" Society.

This was not at all due to any passiveness on the part of the plenum participants. It was simply due to the fact that the society's electoral commission and its board organized in February and March regional meetings between all candidate deputies and the "Znaniye" Society aktiv at large enterprises in Moscow, Minsk, and Tashkent. They were in addition to numerous meetings between individual candidates and the voters....

"Knowledge Is Strength!"—this is not just a conventional slogan but also the stance of all 11 candidate people's deputies. Stormy arguments flared up during the election campaign discussion of candidacies. They all boiled down to the fact that it is necessary to even more actively conduct restructuring of the forms and methods of the "Znaniye" Society's work and to demolish prevailing stereotypes whereby the activity of its organizations is assessed only by the number of lectures given.

What should be deemed the main aim of the disseminators of knowledge? Here is the opinion of Academician V. Mamutov of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, chairman of the Donetsk Oblast "Znaniye" Society Board.

"One vitally important issue is to improve the economic mechanism and management so as to lead our economy out of the phase of stagnation. Our mandate to the supreme organ of power is to help and demand of all state and economic organs an intelligent solution to this main task of the day."

The 10 people's deputies were elected by proportional majority of votes. Their platforms are also known.

"I perceive the continuous education of people as an exceptionally important problem," M. Demchuk, one of the deputies and Belorussia's minister of public education, said. "This is one of the conditions for success in restructuring."

Moscow Artists Union Elects Deputies

LD1603195489 Moscow TASS in English 1938 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—Eight representatives of fine arts have become people's deputies from the Union of Soviet Painters on Thursday. They were elected to the supreme organ of state authority by an all-union conference of this creative organisation by secret ballot. They include monumentalist painter Andrey Vasnetsov, union board chairman, as well as painters Yevgeniy Maltsev, Leningrad; Viktor Sidorenko, Kharkov, Dzhemma Skulme (head of the Latvian Union of Painters), Olev Subbi, Tallinn. Deputies also include graphic artist Oleg Savostyuk who heads the Moscow organisation of the painters' union, sculptor Yerkin Mergenov, board chairman of the Union of Kazakh Painters, and Armenian art critic Genrikh Igityan.

Sixteen candidates contested 10 seats allocated to the Union of Soviet Painters. Before today's voting, candidates delivered their programme speeches. Their authorised representatives also addressed the audience, and there were lively discussions. All candidates are prestigious people in the world of arts. However, the voting results were surprising: the needed majority was won only by eight candidates. Two seats remained vacant. According to the USSR law on elections, the Union of Soviet Painters has the right to elect additionally another two deputies. The conference decided to avail itself of this opportunity.

Conference participants congratulated their colleagues on the election to the supreme organ of authority on Thursday and gave a mandate to them. Deputies are requested to actively participate in discussions and solution of all economic, cultural and social problems and to do their utmost so as to make the process of perestroyka irreversible. The mandate also mentions the need for raising the role of arts in the life of society, in moral and ethical education and in moral improvement of people. Deputies were recommended to give attention to drafting legislative acts protecting the rights of bureaucrats and from administrative diktat. The mandate points to the need for strengthening the material basis of culture, boosting considerably appropriations for the construction of museums, picture galleries, theatres, concert halls and for restoring artistic and historical monuments.

Latvia's Gorbunov Visits Army Unit

PM2003104189 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 11 Mar 89 p 1

[LATINFORM correspondent B. Sebyakin report: "A.V. Gorbunov: 'I Consider Myself Your Comrade in Arms'"]

[Excerpt] If you agree that a theater begins at the cloakroom, a military unit begins at the checkpoint. This is probably why Anatoliy Valeryanovich Gorbunov began his familiarization with the Sevastopolskiy Guards' Motorized Infantry Training Regiment precisely at the checkpoint. There, at the entrance to the military camp, he stopped by the memorial composition reflecting the glorious combat path of the red banner regiment which has borne the name of the Lettish riflemen for more than 20 years.

The chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium came to the unit as a candidate USSR people's deputy. On 26 March the servicemen will be able to choose whom to vote for: for A.V. Gorbunov, or for Lieutenant Colonel Nikolay Ivanovich Suslov, who has been nominated as a candidate people's elected representative by the military collective.

"I consider myself your comrade in arms, as I once served in another unit in this same formation," A.V. Gorbunov told the officers accompanying him. "At first I was a cadet and then, on receiving my sergeant's shoulder straps, I became an instructor and taught young servicemen how to drive medium tanks. In the Army I was elected secretary of the Komsomol organization, and it was here that I became a candidate member of the party."

There were hardly any empty seats in the spacious soldiers' club: In addition to servicemen, civilians had also come to meet the candidate deputy. The meeting was opened by A.N. Malinovskiy, deputy chairman of the okrug electoral commission. It was proposed first to listen to the speech by the aspirant to a deputy's mandate and then to ask him questions.

A.V. Gorbunov pointed out that he considers it necessary to create special electoral okrugs for servicemen where military candidates alone could compete with one another. In this way it would be possible to ensure the Armed Forces' necessary representation, strictly defined by the law, in the top organs of state power.

Many questions concerned relations between the Army and the local population and touched on problems which servicemen and members of their families encounter in Latvia. The assembled people were also interested in the attitude of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau toward various actions by informal public organizations. All the replies were detailed and thorough and frankly revealed the candidate's position.

Thus, speaking about the pickets who turned up some time ago outside the Baltic Military District Staff building, A.V. Gorbunov reported that, in his opinion, the measures envisaged by the law must be taken with regard to such violators of public order—which is what militia workers did. As for the stand taken by the movement for Latvia's national independence, he reported that the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium will examine at its session how the movement's documents correspond to the provisions of the Constitution.

The following explanation was given with regard to the question of whether Latvia was occupied by the Soviet Army in 1939-1940. If it really was an occupation, then President Ulmanis would have mentioned this in at least one of the documents. In actual fact, Latvia made its choice between Hitlerite Germany and the Soviet Union in favor of the USSR, and the Soviet Army entered our republic without a single shot being fired, unless you count a chance incident on the border. So there can be no question of an occupation. [passage omitted]

General Snetkov Interview on Candidacy

LD1803153989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1015 GMT 18 Mar 89

[Interview with Army General Boris Vasilyevich Snetkov, commander-in-chief of Soviet forces in the GDR and candidate USSR people's deputy, by program presenter Kim Kukholev; from the "I Serve the Soviet Union" program; date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Snetkov] Of course, I am a soldier above all. It follows that my main task is to maintain the group of Soviet troops in Germany at an appropriate level, which will ensure a rebuff to any aggressor. That is my task as commander-in-chief; as a deputy, if I am elected, it will be even more so.

A multitude of new and complex problems is arising at present in all branches of the activity of the troops. One cannot doubt the need for defensive measures and the protection of the homeland. Yes, we are sincerely devoted to the ideas of peace; but the harsh reality is that we have to take into account the military preparations of the imperialist states. The Armed Forces, above all of the NATO bloc, still remain at the same quantitative strength. Their desire to improve the qualitative condition of their forces, and their equipment, is plain to see. We who serve on the territory of the GDR see and know this. Therefore, the unilateral reduction of Soviet Armed Forces must in no way have the effect of lowering our combat readiness and fighting capability. How can this be achieved? By restructuring all our work, in such a direction that even with a smaller quantity of troops and equipment, our defense potential may remain at the highest level—thanks to the quality of the training of our personnel and their consummate mastery of equipment and weapons.

We must greatly improve our work with the personnel as regards education and training. There are shortcomings in our work in this area. And we must activate the levers of restructuring, democratization and glasnost, vigorously supporting independence, initiative, and creative energy. These are the means by which many problems can be solved.

The level of the combat skills of the personnel needs to be constantly raised. This is a source of the enhancement of the fighting capability of the Army and Navy, practically without extra material expenditure.

And a great many other problems confront me as commander-in-chief of the group. New ones will arise if I am elected as a people's deputy.

[Kukholev] Boris Vasiliyevich, many people look at the Army with the eyes of mothers and fathers whose children are serving today. They judge by various reports, letters, and articles in the press. There is much talk, unfortunately, of treatment that is contrary to regulations.

[Snetkov] Yes, regrettably, both hazing of new recruits and barracks-room hooliganism do exist in the Army. But today it's not enough to admit this. We cannot accept a situation in which relatives and girl friends worry, when they see a young man off into the Army, about what may happen to him during his service. Of course we have to work on this, and I am confident that a military man with a mandate as a people's deputy can do much. And not just in the course of his official, purely military activities, but also in his work as a deputy. The time has come to reconsider seriously the system of pre-conscription training, military-patriotic education, the work of the military commissariats and local soviets, and of our Defense Society. Legislation of some kind is called for here. And who better than a people's deputy of the USSR, in the course of his work in the supreme organ of power, to get such legislation passed and implemented in practice? The more so as he knows the problem from the inside as no one else does. [passage omitted]

Leningrad Candidate Stresses Economy

LD1703102189 Moscow TASS in English 0812 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] Leningrad March 17 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Vitaliy Tarasenko:

The deepening of perestroyka in the USSR calls for the changing of the structure and principles of management, for creating not only a law-governed state, but also a law-governed economy. This is the central idea expressed at electoral meetings by Yuriy Solovyov, candidate in the forthcoming elections of people's deputies.

Economic issues are the centrepiece of his electoral platform, and not only because he is an engineer by profession. As head of the Leningrad Party Organisation, he is positive that full economic independence of industrial enterprises and their liberation from the bonds of departmentalism will bring considerable profits to the city budget. The first two socialist cartels, Energomash and Technochim, were created in Leningrad. Their work is not controlled so strictly through planned targets. But not everything goes smoothly. conflicting views are being expressed about their work. However, judging by their performance, a correct path has been chosen.

At meetings held these days at enterprises, institutions and schools Solovyov is asked numerous questions, many of them rather blunt. Leningrad residents want to know why the housing problem is being resolved not as quickly as it should, when the shortage of many foodstuffs and manufactured consumer goods will be eliminated, when roads considered to be among the worst in Europe will be repaired.

The head of Leningrad Communists does not give rash promises. 'Of course, not everything can be done at once and the way we want it to be done," Solovyov says. However, despite all the difficulties, Solovyov believes that there is every reason to be optimistic about the future.

Brazauskas Addresses Vilnius Voters

PM2003164189 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 3 Mar 89 pp 1, 3

[ELTA report: "The Plans of the People Are the Plans of the Party"]

[Excerpts] As already reported, on 1 March Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and candidate USSR people's deputy, met with voters—the party and economic aktiv of the "Vilma" production association in Vilnius. [passage omitted]

A. Brazauskas addressed the meeting.

This is not my first visit to your collective, he said. As Central Committee secretary for industry I often visited you here. And I am very glad that in recent years you have achieved good results in many production and social indicators. I hope that you perform as well in the future, too.

We are living in a very complex period, the Central Committee first secretary stressed. I shall begin with the situation which occurred in mid-1988 on the eve of the 19th all-union party conference. The initiative of the public, mainly the Lithuanian intelligentsia, was awakened. The "Sajudis" Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring initially contributed much that was positive, particularly on questions of the environment and social justice. Recently, however, phenomena unacceptable to our society have become increasingly noticeable. That is why we decided to convene a Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum. There, as you know, a principled assessment was made of the prevailing political situation. We said frankly that if matters continued to take such a course, there could be utterly undesirable consequences which would greatly set back all our achievements.

There is a great deal of talk about sovereignty nowadays. This word was little used before, what does it mean today? On the basis of the decisions of the 19th party conference we prepared a concept of economic independence. We see Soviet Lithuania as a sovereign republic with great rights within the body of the Soviet Union. This will primarily help to significantly improve the population's life. After all, we can all see that very little has been achieved in this respect so far. [passage omitted]

The draft new constitution of the Lithuanian SSR was published recently. At the moment no republic has a draft like it. It was prepared by a parliamentary commission and prominent scientists from the republic were involved in it. The draft is in tune with the spirit of restructuring. In particular, it takes a new look at the concept of ownership. It is common knowledge that all the previous constitutions—of both the union and the republic—included a declaration on ownership by all the people. Many of the country's scientists reject that concept. In the draft constitution we declared the land, minerals, water, coastal shelf, forests, and natural resources to be the property of the republic.

National relations in the country were complex, although for a long time we said that everything was fine here. Now the Decree on the Use of the Lithuanian SSR's State Language has been adopted. By no means everyone greeted it without mixed feelings. We lived peacefully and harmoniously for decades with the ethnic makeup existing in the republic, we never quarreled, still less was there any hostility. But now emotions have surfaced. This must be very carefully examined. The reality is that around 9 percent of the population are people of Polish nationality with their own language and traditions. The same can be said about the Russian or Belorussian section of the population. There are particularly large numbers of international collectives in Vilnius. I receive many letters, some of which ask why Lithuanians do not speak Russian or Polish, while others ask why Russians do not learn Lithuanian. There are as many opinions as there are people. And we must seek a way out of this situation. Confrontation solves absolutely nothing here. Lithuanian must be introduced as the state language but this must not infringe the interests of those who do not speak it.

People also ask: Why does the draft constitution guarantee only secondary education in one's native language, but not higher education. I must say that in the republic's VUZ's around 300 groups use Russian as the language of instruction. But even they do not cover all specialist subjects. The fact is that the demand for some of them in a small republic is not great and thus it is inexpedient to open groups where teaching is in other languages. These specialist subjects can be studied in other VUZ's in the country.

Quite a lot has been done in the republic to create the conditions for teaching to be carried out in Polish. But there are a number of problems here too. Every effort must be made to ensure that these problems are resolved in the best possible way.

Returning to the questions discussed at the last Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, A. Brazauskas emphasized once more: We are building socialism within the Soviet Union. There is and can be no other option. What road we should take toward this is a different matter. Here we can argue and debate. For example, we prefer Lenin's treaty-based model of union of soviet republics. The republic's sovereignty can be ensured not by violating the principles of the USSR but by increasing the competence and potential of the republics, individual regions, and in particular labor collectives as the basic link of production. But extreme slogans—about withdrawal from the Soviet Union and an independent Lithuania—are unacceptable to us. Party organizations are currently examining questions of Communists' participation in "Sajudis." There are Communists there who support the party's program, although their views on the methods of restructuring differ. As has already been said, however, there are also those who are heading in a different direction from us. We do not want confrontation with public movements, and all their representatives must understand that clearly. Our goal must be the same—the acceleration of restructuring.

Afterwards A. Brazauskas answered questions.

There is hardly anything that I can add to what I have said, he answered. The situation is complex. There is much explanatory work to be done. Of course there are various everyday conflicts and everyone must oppose them. When we cease to treat the language question in a prejudiced way it will be easier to pursue all our policy.

A. Brazauskas was asked to comment on Articles 72 and 73 of the draft Lithuanian SSR Constitution.

Article 72, which proclaims the republic's right to withdraw from the USSR, existed in all the constitutions. It remains today. The next article speaks about the right to cancel the operation of USSR laws in the republic. This does not mean, A. Brazauskas said, that all the laws issued in the country have to be sanctioned by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet or that the constitutions of the union republics and the USSR Constitution must be linked or adapted to one another in such a way as to preclude variant readings. If our legislation is based on the fundamental law, there will be no misunderstandings.

Many of the participants in the meeting asked about prospects for the development of the production of construction materials in the republic and questions of housing provision. A. Brazauskas stressed that the production of construction materials will be increased but that the housing problem is very difficult. Around 2,500 apartments a year are being built in Vilnius. To provide all the city's people with apartments by the year 2000 it is necessary to more than double the rate of construction. That cannot be achieved without using the own-resources method of construction. Thus it is necessary to support any initiative from enterprises and organizations.

The meeting raised the question "On the demilitarization of the coastal zone in the Palanga region." The Central Committee secretary replied that the question of resisting the test range was being discussed with the Baltic Military District command. This will take considerable resources, however, which the republic's large enterprises may perhaps be able to find.

Note from the floor: "Is the national composition of the population taken into account when forming republic, city, and rayon echelons of power?" Answer: "Yes, the ratio of 80:20 is observed. Just recently several non-Lithuanian party gorkom and raykom secretaries have been elected and ministry and department leaders have been appointed."

Note from the floor: "Will sufficient resources be allocated to provide free teaching of the state language to all the republic's citizens?" Answer: "If such a need exists, these questions will always be resolved. I think that an enterprise's administration and party organization should guarantee the provision of textbooks and everything else to people who want to study Lithuanian."

Asked about the sovereignty of the Lithuanian Communist Party, the first secretary replied that this question has not been raised at all. It is a question of expanding its powers.

Note from the floor: "Whose was the initiative for holding elections to the republic's supreme soviet next fall, given that the delegates' powers expire in the spring?" A. Brazauskas explained that this question is now being examined. A proposal to accelerate the renewal of the soviets was voiced at the 19th all-union party conference. However, no final decision has been made.

Some questions from the audience touched on the cooperative movement. The republic now has more than 1,500 cooperatives. That is good, but there is concern at the fact that cooperatives' incomes are not taken into account in the balance of the republic's income and expenditure. Large sums of money have appeared and they are inflating prices. Recently the republics were given the right to set income tax and to regulate the whole process of the cooperative movement.

In conclusion, A. Brazauskas thanked the association's workers, engineers, and technical staff for nominating him as candidate USSR people's deputy. He said that he will make every effort to ensure that restructuring yields real results for working people.

* Kapto Campaigns in Tashkent

18000648 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 21 Feb 89 p 1

[UzTAG report: "To Unite Efforts in Restructuring"]

[Text] A meeting of electors with people's deputy nominee from the all-union "Znaniye" society, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department A.S. Kapto, has taken place in the Tashkent State University imeni V.I. Lenin.

The candidate's agent Zh.T. Toshchenko presented biographical information on him for those present.

Presenting his election program, A.S. Kapto noted that restructuring has brought many phenomena into our lives that we are now discussing for the first time. Here for the first time we have the elections for people's deputies not only by territory and national territorial districts but also from public organizations. The "multilateral" meetings between candidates and voters, competition among their programs and the election struggle all provide graphic proof of the unique nature of the present election campaign.

My plans, the people's deputy nominee said, are inseparable from the election campaign of the party as set forth in the CPSU Central Committee Appeal "To the Party and the Soviet People." We can reach common goals only through common effort. The requirement today is the need for ideological and political consolidation of all social forces on the platform of restructuring. This is the more important since the time has now come for practical realization of what has been planned. Finding solutions to all the tasks of restructuring is inconceivable without the active participation of broad public forces themselves. And the central point of my election program, A.S. Kapto emphasized, is to promote in every possible way the ideological and political consolidation of society and unite the efforts of all those acting for development of the processes of renewal and democratization in all spheres of life and consolidation and development of the fundamental values of socialism. Revolutionary transformations are inconceivable without revolutionary awareness. Paraphrasing the winged words of the founders of socialism, we might say that before they come into being and in order to give them material force, ideas must be mastered by the masses. This kind of revolution in public awareness is already taking place right before our eyes. The first major breakthrough has been made: The ideas of restructuring developed by the party have been accepted by the absolute majority of the people. Now we must translate the public awareness and people's thinking and psychology from a state of waiting for results from restructuring onto the plane of practical actions. It is not fortuitous that the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) and the tasks of the 19th all-union party conference for the renewal of ideology have been set on the same plane with the reform in the economic and political systems and the democratization of party and all public life.

In all state matters, great and small, consideration should always be given to the fact that we are naming the ideological facets of restructuring and the ideological refraction of the transformations taking place in the country. Life demands that each decision made, whether it be economic or technical or related to the social, legal or spiritual sphere, should be assessed from the position of the "human measurement" of our socialist society, and subjected to a unique humanitarian expert perusal.

Today we are with great difficulty overcoming the consequences of theoretical failures and giving birth to a creative, revolutionary-critical spirit of Marxist-Leninist teaching. It is high time to develop fundamental and applied research and conduct broad democratic discussion and creative competition between different scientific trends and schools, and the free circulation of theoretical ideas and concepts. Only by developing along this path can theory become a reliable tool for self-recognition by socialist society and scientific leadership in the transformation of reality.

Restructuring needs increasingly deep foundations and practical recommendations. It is therefore expedient to take steps to coordinate and combine the efforts of the social scientists, including the major theoretical forces present in the republics and regions, including the "Znaniye" society, and to work on the basic theoretical problems of restructuring and improve the real return from social and scientific knowledge. It is important that the decisions and legislation adopted on any of the major issues be based on a solid scientific foundation and obtain in-depth approval from scholars.

At the meeting the question was raised of the role of the mass media. A.S. Kapto said that they have done much to develop the processes of democracy and glasnost and for the entire cause of restructuring. The sharp increase in the circulation of the periodicals is convincing proof of the growing authority of the press. At the same time there are certain shortcomings in the work of the newspapers and journals and radio and television. What is needed, therefore, is a legal mechanism that guarantees that the activity of the press is fully legal, responsible and constructive and further develops glasnost. One of the main parts of such a mechanism is the draft Law on the Mass Media, which will be submitted for broad discussion and then considered by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

A.S. Kapto dealt with certain ideological aspects of improvements in interethnic relations. A shining example of internationalism was demonstrated by the thousands and thousands of Uzbek families that during the Great Patriotic War welcomed those evacuated from the cities and villages in our country seized by the fascists.

But even given all the unique experience gained during the years of Soviet power, in our national relations many far from simple issues and problems have arisen. They require careful study and well-considered solutions. The people's deputies of the USSR will face an enormous volume of legislative work connected with the further development and strengthening of Soviet federation on the basis of democratic principles and delineation of the competence of the USSR and the Soviet republics and the extension of their rights. Laws will be passed designed to guarantee free develop and equal use by all citizens of the USSR of their native tongues and mastery of the Russian language as the means of interethnic dealings. Liability for stirring up national dissension and preaching racial or national exclusivity must be increased.

The nominee for the post of people's deputy paid much attention to improvements in the work of the all-union "Znaniye" society. Its activity is still failing to meet present-day requirements. In order to improve the work of the society it is essential to effect a decisive turnaround from abstract enlightenment to the real social requirements and needs of the labor collectives and people's growing interests.

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A.S. Kapto also took part in a Tashkent election meeting for people's deputy nominees from the all-union "Znaniye" society with representatives of society organizations from the Central Asian republics, Kazakhstan, and oblasts in Siberia and the Far East. All 11 candidates for the post of people's deputy from the all-union "Znaniye" society presented their programs at that meeting. They answered questions from those present.

First secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee R.N. Nishanov and Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee secretary M.Kh. Khalmukhamedov attended the meeting.

Meetings have also taken place between people's deputy nominees from the all-union "Znaniye" society and labor collectives in the capital of Uzbekistan.

* TASS Chief on Information Management, Candidacy

18300445 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 11, 15 Mar 89 p 10

[Report on interview with Leonid Kravchenko, TASS general director, by Gennadiy Bocharov, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA observer; date, place not specified]

[Text] This meeting was brought about by two factors. The first was that the plenum of the board of the USSR Union of Journalists nominated L.P. Kravchenko a candidate for peoples deputies for the country. As a journalist I wanted to know what the TASS general director intended to do for society in the area of the development of the mass media if he were elected. What principles and views shall we defend in the highest agency of state authority?

The second factor: The revolution in information science presupposes computerization everywhere and the creation of electronic banks of textual and televised information. TASS is the technological center, the core of the country's information system. How does the agency envision its future?

As we know, it was not long ago that L. P. Kravchenko was appointed to his present position. And therefore my questions—what does he intend to do, what does he intend to refrain from, and what would he like to destroy without delay?—would probably be quite legitimate. But it would probably be unexpected to take a critical attitude toward certain aspects of TASS activity: The cliches that have elicited "justifiable indignation" among educated people, the superficial and omnivorous nature of the information, and so forth. But I understand that a person who begins by resolutely destroying things, as a rule, does not accomplish much. My questions were cautious:

"How did you begin?"

"By getting familiar with things," L. Kravchenko answered. "TASS is a large collective (about 5,000 workers) that has developed over many decades. Just as any other organization, it has its own traditions, its own peculiarities, and, of course, its own problems. I met with the 'indigenous' TASS members—veterans of the agency—and also many young associates. I listened to the leaders of the editorial divisions and the technical services. The meetings and discussions led me to a quite specific idea about the collective. I got a sense of its capabilities, desires, and problems. But I still have a lot to learn. But I liked the people's attitude, their desire to work in a new way. It also became clearer what was required of me...."

I listened to the general director and thought: It is very important now with the increased rotation of personnel that the new director begin not with a tour of the corridors, offices, shops, or studios under his jurisdiction, but with meetings with people who are the motor, the brain, the soul, and the essence of any organization.

"Information," said L. Kravchenko, "is our main product. It affects millions of people in our country and billions of people in the world. The quality of information and the problems with it should be discussed publicly and openly. Moreover, as they say, TASS is the eyes and ears of the country, TASS is also the official mouthpiece."

"Please define TASS's position in the world information structure," I proposed.

"This position," said the general director, "is among the five largest agencies of the world. Here are a couple of figures: TASS means 4 million words received and transmitted each day (750 columns in LG each day—G.B.) It means 6.5 million photographs a year. TASS correspondents are accredited in 128 countries of the world."

"Does the definition 'among the five' mean that TASS is on par with the other agencies? In what ways do you not measure up to them? In what ways are you better?"

"This is a difficult question," said L. Kravchenko. "Our 'commodity," our—I repeat—product is news, information, and communication. But you understand that the primary thing is not the communication but the fact or the event. It can be clearer, more eloquent, more joyful. But only then do the journalists and information handlers get to work. And they appear..."

"Or fail to appear," I noted.

"...the criteria for evaluation is who is faster, who is clearer, who is more honest. This is true in everything. But the peculiarity of recent times is not only the competition that can be found among all journalists of the world, but also the fairly close cooperation between TASS and other agencies. I am deliberately not touching upon the technical aspect of the matter," added L. Kravchenko, "since I assume that we shall be discussing our computer problems later...."

...In the biography of the candidate for people's deputies compiled by a group of his trusted friends I read: "Many recent innovations in television are linked to the name of L. P. Kravchenko. These include, above all, such popular programs as 'View,' 'Projector of Restructuring','Before and After Midnight' television bridges,'120 Minutes,' and so forth." L. P. Kravchenko, as we know, came to TASS from the position of first deputy chairman of USSR Gosteleradio.

He has the reputation of a creative person. Suffice it to recall the "leap" in circulation of the newspaper TRUD where he also went as editor-in-chief at one time.

"How is working in TASS different from working in television and newspapers?" I asked.

"The complete lack of feedback," said Leonid Petrovich. "People do not write letters to TASS. Nobody knows what response the word receives in people's souls and consciousnesses. This support is lacking. I was not at all ready for this."

"Was there nothing else that was unexpected?" I asked.

"The TASS problems," he said, "have been accumulating over the decades as they have everywhere. Some were resolved with the beginning of restructuring and others still have to be resolved. Here is one of the unexpected problems: any TASS worker receives an honorarium not for what he has put out over the air waves or printed in the newspaper but for what he has put on tape. Thousands of communications that have nothing to do with public opinion die unused."

"That is, the way it is in industry?"

"Yes," agreed L. Kravchenko. "The final result is not important. The money is paid in any case."

"And is everyone indifferent?" I asked. "Is ambition a transient thing?"

"Possibly that was the case previously," suggested L. Kravchenko. "But today it is not: Openness has awakened ambition: Many TASS journalists have made a name for themselves and anonymity is no longer the thing. Although I fully admit that it is still desirable for some people today, or even necessary."

...I read: "L. P. Kravchenko has been awarded two orders of the Labor Red Banner, and four medals, including "For Saving the Drowning."

While on vacation he saved two women who were drowning in the sea. Thus the person with whom I was speaking was like the majority of my heroes—people of action. Moreover, this was the first case I can remember in which the leader did not remain on the shore when someone was drowning. He helped personally, and not through his assistant. (A fact without commentary: Leonid Kravchenko grew up in a partisan detachment that was operating in the Bryansk area during the Great Patriotic War.)

I asked:

"What do you as general director of TASS and a possible USSR people's deputy consider a matter of primary importance for yourself?"

"The organization of a unified information service in the country," answered Kravchenko with conviction. "A unified information service is a condition for the survival of all the mass media."

True, I thought, but....

"TASS," continued the agency leader, "already has an electronic bank of information. It contains more than a half million various pieces of information and facts. But so far it is a dead load. The wealth is being utilized poorly. And only by TASS workers. And the bank could work for all editorial offices—from the largest to the rayon offices. And this could happen even today."

"What is needed for this?"

"Installing monitors in the editorial offices. I am not even speaking about providing the journalists with the simplest computers. I understand that even the simplest are not cheap. But operational information banks of video and textual information are already a matter of daily practice in many countries of the world.

"During the time of the flight of the space ship Buran," recalled L. Kravchenko, "I was in London and British television reported this event this way. First they showed a picture of Buran's takeoff—it was taken from our program "Vremya." After the first picture, they called up from the televised memory bank the subject of the flight of the American Shuttle—which was similar to Buran.

"The next showing was like this: two spaceships appeared on the screen at the same time: Buran and Shuttle. Both were immobile. Look and compare. Subsequently—when the director indicates—the spaceships come to life and start at exactly the same moment. And you see the initial stage of their flight. And again you compare.

"After a couple of seconds the spaceships appear on the screen again," Kravchenko got up from his desk. "The final stage is in progress—the landing. The picture on the screen is no longer vertical as it was at the start, but horizontal. They are parallel: Buran in the upper part and Shuttle in the lower part of the screen. The spaceships approach the earth. The Buran is moving perfectly. The Shuttle shakes and tosses a little. You can compare again—and the computer helps with this as well. The finale: a synchronous landing—touchdown, taxiing, and coming to a halt.... The effect is extremely strong. Textual information is utilized in a similar way."

"I understand," I said. I thought: LG is one of the largest newspapers. But its actual supply of electronic equipment amounts to one terminal installed in the publishing office.

I saw some guests from the West demonstrating personal computers in one organization. The hosts were excited and overcome with delight. The scene reminded me of engravings depicting Cook showing beads of various colors to the amazed foreigners. Such was the reality.

"Computerization," said L. Kravchenko, "under modern conditions is one of the most important (if not the most important) things, the basis of the rule-of-law state and an open political system since everyone can have information about the life of everyone else—not in the philistine sense of the word, of course. One should not think," he added, "that the personal computer is the panacea for all difficulties and contradictions in life. Perhaps this is the way it is perceived by the half-aware consciousness. But I wish to emphasize that there is not a single computer that eliminates or replaces the need to think, to imagine, or to act."

Of course I was quite ready to corroborate this. I recalled a conversation of a friend about how at a recent mass meeting the response from the crowd to an appeal from the speaker at the podium for universal computerization was the phrase: We do not even have a sewage system yet!

Alas, we must begin with the latter.

"Any lagging behind the world level," emphasized Kravchenko in the meantime, "is depressing. But lagging behind in electronics, information science, and computer culture is tragic. Someone should take on the burden of responsibility and get to work. As concerns our own creation of a unified information service in the country, I repeat, I have included it in my announced program as deputy. It is the main point!"

The energy could not but be infectious and the confidence could not but be conveyed.

I will vote "for," I thought.

I said:

"Leonid Petrovich! The problem of the semi-official organ turned over to TASS is not new for the mass media. The amounts of official materials and their duplication by all newspapers of the country caused a critical attitude long ago. The readers are calling for a more differentiated transmission of official information. I believe you are aware of this."

"Yes," agreed Kravchenko. "Not only am I aware of it; I see it as a primary problem. What happens? Energetic young people have taken over the leadership of the country and the party. Restructuring has put everything into motion. The number of political actions, meetings, trips, and speeches have increased sharply. Good! But the time periods for the arrival, processing, and transmission of information as well as the methods for their formulation remain the same. This leads to inadmissible delays in the output of newspapers, and failures to meet deadlines lead to the overexpenditure of millions on expediting work. With a changeover to khozraschet everywhere this has a painful effect on the editorial and publishing collectives."

"Maybe not everybody is aware of this?" I asked. "For regardless of the time of day—10 o'clock in the evening, 12 midnight or 5 in the morning—when the newspapers come out, they always end up on the desks of the leaders of the corresponding rank by the beginning of the working day."

"I shall answer this way," said Kravchenko. "With the support of the ideological department of the CPSU Central Committee, TASS has begun a comprehensive analysis of this problem. We are concretizing material and other expenditures. Then the question will be raised at the highest level. Moreover, if I am elected a people's deputy I shall include this in my deputy program. I understand that this affects everyone."

An important point, I thought. I shall vote "for."

I read: "For 14 years L. P. Kravchenko has been teaching in the journalism department at MGU."

"What besides specific subjects do you discuss with tomorrow's journalists?"

"The uniqueness of this historical moment," answered L. Kravchenko. "There is no need to be clever. There is no need to join in the music. There is no need to darken that which should be bright. One thing is needed: to work honestly and professionally. Only then will the historical moment with its inherent characteristics—glasnost, democracy—be transformed from a moment into an epoch," he concluded.

"And what tasks are you setting now in TASS?"

"I would say that they ensue from the common tasks of journalism in the process of restructuring. Our single-party political system predetermines the special role of the mass media. Namely: the development of criticism and self-criticism, severe castigation of that which has been left to us from the past, and also analysis of the shortcomings that we have engendered today. But the approach and position of the press, as I understand it, should still be constructive, with keen attention to the new, advanced, and unusual, which is being manifested more and more frequently today.

"We should not be primitive information mongers. With the help of objective facts we must form public opinion and enter into life. The famous phrase of Lenin's about the collective organizer pertains fully to TASS as well."

In a discussion of the prospects of technical equipment for the mass media L. Kravchenko reported an important thing.

A distribution satellite system, "Moskva-Globalnaya" is being created. It will operate on the basis of a series Soviet artificial earth satellite "Gorizont." The purpose is to transmit visual and textual information throughout the world.

"One should not think," emphasized Kravchenko, "that technological equipment for information is merely something to be desired. It is a necessity, the major condition for coexistence with the rest of the world and with all of civilization. There is hard work to do, the output of domestic electronic equipment is increasing, but at the same time we must not forget about quality."

Listening to the TASS general director, I thought of the antenna- dish installed on the roof of the agency building. This obsolete and worn-out piece of equipment is still used to maintain communication with the rest of the world. One can see antennas that are smaller but with greater capacities in the front gardens of many farm cottages in America.

Yes, much will have to be changed. We are only approaching the threshold which many countries have already crossed.

Satellites are good! But we must not forget that next to our satellites there are others. We were warned about this repeatedly 10 and 20 years ago.

In the free society which we are building man will be free to choose the information in which he is interested. But as of today (and, I fear, tomorrow as well) we do know whose information is more interesting or psychologically precise. We cannot boast about this. So in addition to our technical strivings for parity in the means and speed of dissemination of information, we also have lessons to learn in professional mastery. This cannot be put off until tomorrow either: the struggle for minds and souls is in progress today.

But the speed is already high: The information from a TASS correspondent about the rescue of six unfortunate people from the ruins in Leninakan on the 35th day after the earthquake, in Kravchenko's words, circled the globe in a matter of minutes. But after the initial joy it became the subject of attacks and speculation. Many foreign newspapers began to accuse us of departing from humane norms, and some of them even accused us of cruelty. You see, the journalists wrote, there was still life under the ruins, victims of the disaster were still waiting for help, and we are approaching them—with dynamite.

As we know, the mistake was discovered quickly. Alas, nobody was left alive 35 days after the underground shock. We recognized our mistake, Kravchenko said. The speculations ceased. It turns out that the truth not only heals, he added, but it can also disarm us.

The result.

...The organization of a unified information service in the country—this is the first thing. I recognize that the problem is extremely important. But the bitter experience of past intentions makes it impossible to feel premature satisfaction. There have been so many good intentions!

But still I am "for."

...A solution to problems related to increased efficiency of operational handling of official information. Important! In one way or another this affects the work of all journalists, including myself.

So again I am "for."

...Improvement of the quality of TASS information and its ability to compete on the domestic and international markets.

This does not pertain directly to me, but who can be against improvement of quality?

I read: "Soviet journalists know Leonid Kravchenko well. He has visited many corners of the country. He knows in detail the needs, concerns, and plans of workers in the press, television, and radio. He has the necessary knowledge, experience, and character to be a worthy representative and, if necessary, to firmly defend the interests of the detachment of many thousands of journalists as our people's deputy."

The dramas surrounding journalists are played out each day. Some people do not like so much activity. Journalists are persecuted and oppressed, and sometimes they are erased from the face of the earth. There are more and more examples of this.

Others do not like the passivity of the press or its weak participation in the process of restructuring. Of course they are angry at the local press most frequently. Again journalists and editors are considered to be the guilty parties. And not those who forgot about glasnost almost on the day of the publication of the resolution of the 19th party conference and who demand of journalists complete obedience as before.

In a word, in addition to the criticism, which the journalists like anyone else deserve, they need protection, attention, and support. The more so since the law on the press is being unjustifiably delayed.

But as a member of the commission for preparing the draft of the law, Kravchenko stated that he would do everything possible to make sure that the law would be intelligent and fair.

A good intention: intelligent laws help us to work more intelligently, and just laws help us to protect the dignity of the worker.

Well, after our conversation I am "for" this deputy.

And I hope we shall finish this conversation in 5 years.

Uzbek Youths Hold Unauthorized Meeting on Language

LD2003120989 Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 0215 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] An unauthorized meeting of representatives of Uzbek youths was held in Tashkent yesterday. At the meeting, the question of giving the Uzbek language the status of the state language was raised. Ibragimov, chairman of the UzSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Khalmukhammedov, secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee, met with youth representatives.

During the meeting, the participants were (?briefed) about measures being implemented for enhancing the Uzbek language, strengthening the economy, and fulfilling the social program. The questions asked will be taken into account by the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee Ideological Commission.

Two Killed in Ammonia Tank Explosion in Lithuania

LD2003155789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1533 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Jonava (Lithuania), 20 Mar, (TASS)—For reasons that are as yet unknown, a 10,000-cubic-meters tank, which was two-thirds full of ammonia, today exploded on the grounds of the "Azot" production association. The resulting fire was extinguished after several hours. A large quantity of ammonia was discharged into the atmosphere, a cloud of which was blown by the wind in the direction of a number of rayons. Managers and work collectives of the rayons have been warned about this, and the appropriate safety measures have been taken. According to preliminary information, 2 people were killed and 41 injured. The causes of the incident are being investigated.

Measures Taken To Ensure Safety

LD2003225889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today, in the town of Jonava, Lithuanian SSR, on the territory of the "Azot" production association, there was an explosion. A. Paulyus reports:

At the moment of the explosion there were 7,000 cubic meters of ammonia in the tank. A large quantity of it was ejected into the atmosphere. [video shows plant with huge tank leaning at an acute angle] The explosion occurred at noon. A government commission was immediately set up. [camera pans along plant, showing vapor trailing along the ground and a large structure with its roof and facade damaged] It went to the site of the accident. The population of the republic was informed by radio. Work to eliminate the consequences of the accident has started. [video Paulyus speaking to Yu.L. Rusenko, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Lithuanian SSR—identified by caption]

[Begin recording] [Paulyus] What measures have they already managed to take to eliminate the consequences?

[Rusenko] Measures have been taken to prevent the ammonia getting into the river. Measures have been taken to protect other workshops, although it did not prove possible to prevent the nitrophosphate fertilizers workshop next door from catching fire.

[Paulyus] The fire is extinguished now, as far as we know.

[Rusenko] Yes, it's being liquidated now; you could say the fires have been put out. People had to be evacuated from three districts where a cloud with a big concentration of ammonia passed. Unfortunately there are casualties. Two persons were killed and 41 are in the hospital.

[Paulyus] The cloud is moving approximately from west to east in the direction of....

[Rusenko interrupts]...approximately from west to east in the direction of Ukmerge. It is now at the outskirts of Ukmerge, but I don't think the concentration will increase because the ammonia virtually all evaporated over Jonava.

[Paulyus] Despite that, additional measures will no doubt still be taken to ensure the safety of both people and of the flora and fauna?

[Rusenko] Yes, measures will definitely be taken; people will be evacuated if necessary from other districts if the cloud approaches and the concentration is high. But we think that the danger is already over. [end recording]

Lithuanian Resolution on Draft Constitution

PM1703144289 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 28 Feb 89 p 1

["Resolution of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the Draft Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Lithuanian SSR"]

[Text] The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

1. The draft Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Lithuanian SSR drawn up by a commission of deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet is to be published in the newspapers TIESA and SOVETSKAYA LITVA and other republican newspapers for nationwide discussion.

2. In view of the fact that some of the articles of the draft Lithuanian SSR Constitution are at variance with the USSR Constitution, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, using its right of legislative initiative, will submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium proposals on amending the corresponding articles of the USSR Constitution.

3. The working party on improving constitutional legislation attached to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is instructed to examine proposals and comments on the draft Lithuanian SSR Constitution received in the course of nationwide discussion, and submit them to the commission of deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The commission of deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, having discussed the proposals submitted and made appropriate amendments and additions to the draft Lithuanian SSR Constitution, is to submit it to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium by 1 July 1989. [Signed] V. Astrauskas,
Chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
Y. Guretskas,
Secretary of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
Vilnius, 27 February 1989.

Lithuanian Plenum Resolution on Restructuring

PM1603150789 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 26 Feb 89 p 1

[Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee 17th Plenum Resolution "On the Party Organizations' Work to Rally the Republic's Public to Resolve the Tasks of Restructuring"]

[Text]

1. The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum notes that the process of the consolidation of our society and of restructuring is proceeding under complex conditions. The course initiated by the CPSU toward democratization and glasnost is supported by the overwhelming majority of the republic's inhabitants, but its practical implementation is of a contradictory nature. This has been revealed in particular by preparation for the elections of USSR people's deputies, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree "On the use of the state language of the Lithuanian SSR," and the celebration of 16 February—the day of the Lithuanian

state's resurrection. Events of recent weeks complicate the political situation in the republic and are having an adverse effect on the development of interethnic relations.

With the public's active assistance, the republic's party and soviet organs have resolved and are continuing to resolve many important tasks of restructuring. But life demands that this activity be even more cohesive, efficient, and fruitful. This is being impeded by the negative changes and rash and unjustified attempts to discredit leading organs and belittle their prestige and role which have appeared recently in the activity of various public movements and independent organizations. Politically and economically unacceptable maximalist demands are being made. Including the slogan of the republic's withdrawal from the USSR. Calls and attempts to organize strikes and other protest actions which disrupt the national economy and public order deserve strict condemnation. All this is splitting and polarizing society and having an adverse effect on people's consciousness and spiritual equilibrium.

Taking a responsible and realistic look at the future, the participants in the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum unanimously express themselves in favor of the republic's development being linked to the USSR while at the same time consistently seeking the republic's genuine sovereignty.

2. The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and the party gorkoms and raykoms must constantly analyze the sociopolitical situation, proceeding from the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference, must assess social phenomena, anticipate trends in their development, and give them a constructive orientation. Special attention must be paid to workers and farming collectives, and no split must be allowed in them. It is essential to take urgent practical actions to stabilize the political situation, to rely more, in work with people, on the method of persuasion, and to always consider the population's interests and requirements.

3. The participants in the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum note that democracy and glasnost have prompted the party to renew its activity. Administrative-edict methods and the duplication of the work of other organs are being abandoned. Great independence has been granted to party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations. The staff of the elected party organs has been renewed, the apparatus structure has been reorganized, and the party committees' sectorial departments have been abolished. The soviets and their ispolkoms are becoming increasingly independent in resolving the questions within their competence.

The plenum expresses itself in favor of the further democratization of party life and the assertion of greater independence for the Lithuanian Communist Party, and at the same time unanimously confirms that the Lithuanian Communist Party will continue its activity within the CPSU. At the same time the convening of an extraordinary congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party is now deemed inexpedient.

The participants in the plenum are guided by the aim that the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, the party gorkoms and raykoms, and primary party organizations must apply methods of modern political leadership, giving priority to political education activity in the labor collectives. It is essential to enhance the responsibility of all leaders and Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee members for the fulfillment of the party resolutions and for the unity of word and deed.

We must react promptly to constructive proposals from all informal movements; resolve, in businesslike cooperation with them, specific issues of social and economic development, ecology, science, education, and culture; and form the culture of interethnic communication.

The plenum does not approve the action of groups of informal movements in party committees, state institutions, and collectives of the mass media and law enforcement organs.

The plenum demands that Communists taking part in public movements be guided in their activity by the demands of the CPSU Statutes. Strict measures of party influence must be applied to those who violate them. The party committees and primary party organizations must assess in a principled manner each Communist's real contribution to the process of restructuring and the consolidation of society.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and Secretariat and the party gorkom and raykoms' bureaus must regularly hear information from the Communists' leaders and, at party meetings and party committee and bureau sessions, information from other CPSU members on their work in various public organizations and movements.

4. The participants in the plenum note that ideological work lacks efficiency, that it is a long way from the processes taking place in real life, and that it lacks the ability to properly assess these processes.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Department and the party gorkoms and raykoms must fundamentally alter the content and methods of ideological work. It is essential to communicate more with people, to encourage and support Lithuania's national resurrection, to improve interethnic relations, to foster spiritual culture, to expand democracy and glasnost, to constantly study the population's public opinion, and to forecast ideological processes.

The proposals to hold a forum of representatives of the peoples inhabiting the Lithuanian SSR are supported.

It is essential to deal a strict rebuff to malevolent attempts by some hostile people to undermine the authority of the Lithuanian Communist Party and to slander its long-term leaders—V. Mitskyavichyus-Kapsukas and A. Snechkus. It is essential to actively disseminate and defend the truth about building a new life in Lithuania. We must not tolerate lack of objectivity in assessing specific stages of Lithuania's history, including the period of bourgeois Lithuania and the events of postwar years, while belittling and denying the successes achieved during the years of Soviet power. We cannot allow whole generations to be indicted; it is essential to defend veterans against unjustified attacks and slander. The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History must publish factual material on the class struggle of postwar years.

The plenum approves the development of relations between state and church on the basis of political reality and constructiveness with a view to implementing freedom of conscience for all citizens, and supports cooperation between believers and nonbelievers in the field of preserving peace and ecological equilibrium, strengthening the family and morality, propagandizing sobriety, and charity.

5. The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum notes the services of the republic's intelligentsia and television and radio and press journalists in the acceleration of the restructuring process and in the desire to help the public feel more clearly the most evil sins of stagnation: inertia, sluggishness, and bureaucracy. The press, radio, and television have encouraged us to live and work under the conditions of glasnost and democracy and to talk frankly and honestly with people on the most topical subjects.

But recently items in a number of republican newspapers and journals and television and radio broadcasts have not been interpreting the processes taking place from Marxist-Leninist positions. The course of restructuring is increasingly being covered unobjectively. Leading workers are tendentiously criticized and some items are aimed against the unity of the peoples living in the republic.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and the party gorkoms and raykoms are asked to analyze the content of the newspapers and other publications which have begun to be printed recently. They must resolve their further fate with a consideration for these publications' contribution to restructuring.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum demands that the leaders of the Lithuanian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, the editors of newspapers and journals, and their party organizations objectively assess the republic's present sociopolitical life and the steps of the Lithuanian SSR's party and state organs on the path toward the republic's sovereignty and in the solution of other topical problems. Tolerance cannot be displayed toward publications and broadcasts which propagandize antisocialist ideas and encourage interethnic hostility and violations of public order. Communists working in the press and on radio and television must not tolerate lack of principle and time serving. It is essential to increase exactingness toward journalists and where necessary to review their personnel.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau; the Central Committee Ideological Department; the Lithuanian SSR ministries of culture and national education; the Lithuanian SSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade; the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting; the Academy of Sciences; and the creative unions of the Lithuanian SSR and their party organizations must take steps to ensure that every Communist intellectual supports actively and specifically the efforts of the republic's party organization to consolidate various public groups and movements.

6. The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee supports the resurrection of national self-awareness and national dignity and the return of the most mature values of culture, enlightenment, folk traditions, and other values. But in this process we must not tolerate forces propagandizing the separatist ideas of national exclusiveness and reserve.

The plenum notes that the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree "On the use of the state language of the Lithuanian SSR" gives no grounds and should not be a pretext for discord or unhealthy ambitions between Lithuanians and people of other nationalities. The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the state organs, and party committees must explain exhaustively the aim and directions of the practical application of the decree, and of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers resolution to the leaders and party organizations of enterprises, institutions, and organizations, and must ensure that the state Lithuanian language is consistently introduced in official state and public life without thereby infringing the rights and dignity of inhabitants of other nationalities. The party organizations must resolutely denounce any manifestations of chauvinism or nationalism and bar the way to attempts to aggravate relations between people of different nationalities.

7. The plenum denounces the political adventurism and extremism of those representatives of public movements who are kindling anti-Soviet and separatist sentiments, trying to revise the path of socialist development which Lithuania has chosen, demanding the republic's withdrawal from the USSR, urging the nonfulfillment of laws, kindling national enmity, and trying from positions of strength to influence the republic's leadership.

The party committees must constantly analyze the aims proclaimed by informal groups and assess them comprehensively and objectively. The plenum notes that the declaration adopted 16 February this year at a session of the Sejm of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring does not accord with the basic provisions of that movement's program and contradicts modern trends in international cooperation.

The Communists working in the republic's law enforcement organs must assess in a principled manner every phenomenon which goes beyond the framework of socialist democracy and violates laws and the working people's calm.

The prosecutor's office organs must cooperate more actively with the local soviets of people's deputies and with the public, and strengthen the observance of the principles of socialist legality, the safeguarding of public order, and citizens' rights and legitimate interests.

8. In assessing the complex situation which has taken shape in the republic's political life and seeking to consolidate all public forces, the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum suggests that all party organizations:

—rally the republic's Communists and all inhabitants of Lithuania to support the election platform of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee;
—embark on practical actions ensuring the republic's successful transition to work under conditions of economic independence as of 1990, and be consistently and specifically concerned to satisfy man's daily need;
—bar the way, in the mass media, to slander of the Communist Party of Lithuania, Soviet Lithuania, and its leaders, and to biased, one-sided assessments of the past and the idealization of the political, economic, and cultural life of bourgeois Lithuania;
—enhance each Communist's personal responsibility for the implementation of the party line and assess in a principled manner the actions of CPSU members who compromise the party;
—take an active part in the elections of USSR people's deputies, and render all-around support to the candidates nominated by the party and other organizations who support the Communist Party of Lithuania's election platform based on real and noble goals.

The participants in the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum urge all Communists and all working people of the republic to display political maturity and far-sightedness and to assess objectively the situation which has taken shape. We are concerned that the dangerous ideas and sentiments which are now being keenly manifested in the republic's sociopolitical life may destabilize the situation and give rise to adverse political, economic, and social consequences. This cannot be allowed, because we will let slip an historic opportunity to rely on the ideas of restructuring and national renewal and create a noble, fair, democratic, socialist Lithuania expressing the aspirations of all honest people.

MVD's Bakatin Visits Lithuania

PM2003143989 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 1 Mar 89 p 3

[ELTA report: "Visit by the USSR Minister of Internal Affairs"]

[Text] USSR Minister of Internal Affairs Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin visited our republic to see for himself the work of the Lithuanian SSR MVD and the restructuring now under way within its organs. He met the republic's leaders, visited the Vilnius Faculty of the USSR MVD Minsk Higher School and a number of internal affairs departments in the republic's cities and rayons, and asked about the activity of correctional labor institutions. A meeting was held with workers from internal affairs organs to discuss questions of strengthening the material base of internal affairs organs and improving cadre training.

* Lithuanian SSR Procurator Appointed

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[Editorial Report] Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian on 28 February 1989 reports on page 1 that as of 24 February 1989 the USSR General Procurator relieved Lyudvikas Sabutis of his duties as LiSSR Procurator in connection with a transfer to another job. The USSR General Procurator named Vidutis Yuozapas Barauskas LiSSR Procurator effective 24 February 1989.

Progress on Latvian January Plenum Decisions

PM2003115889 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 7 Mar 89 p 1

[LATINFORM report: "Implementation of the Plenum Decisions"]

[Text] A conference of party gorkom and raykom first secretaries was held in the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee 4 March, with Comrades Ya.Ya. Vagris, E.Ya. Aushkap, V.G. Bresis, A.P. Bril, A.V. Gorbunov, K.I. Nyuksha, Ya.Ya. Okherin, V.P. Sobolev, S.V. Zukul, G.N. Loskutov, and I.Ya. Priyeditis taking part in its work.

It analyzed progress in the fulfillment of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee January (1989) Plenum decisions.

Taking part in the discussion of this question were V.V. Zharkov, first secretary of the Daugavpils party gorkom; I.Ya. Krastinsh, first secretary of the Yelgava party gorkom; Ya.V. Blazhevich, first secretary of the Ventspils party gorkom; V.P. Varnas, A.K. Vrublevskiy, A.F.

Brigmanis, and M.A. Goba, first secretaries of the Balvskiy, Yekabpilsskiy, Saldusskiy, and Dobelskiy party raykoms respectively; A.P. Klautsen, first secretary of the Riga party gorkom; Yu.N. Dmitriyev, I.A. Garayev, K.F. Strazdinsh, A.A. Chishchakov, F.F. Stroganov, Ya.A. Geyba, and E.E. Gaylitis, first secretaries of the Kraslavskiy, Leninskiy, Ogrskiy, Rizhskiy, Ludzenskiy, Daugavpilsskiy, and Valkskiy party raykoms respectively; Z.S. Petkevich, first secretary of the Rezekne party gorkom; Yu.A. Rozenberg, second secretary of the Proletarskiy party raykom; S.V. Zukul, chairman of the Latvian SSR KGB; I.Ya. Priyeditis, first secretary of the Latvian Komsomol Central Committee; A.P. Bril, secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee; A.V. Gorbunov, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium; V.G. Bresis, chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers; and V.P. Sobolev, second secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee.

It was noted that the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee January Plenum decisions encountered broad support among Communists and all working people in the republic. They perceived these decisions as a real means for accelerating restructuring and consolidating society's healthy forces. But, as the speakers noted, many of the plenum's directives have still not been backed up by specific actions at both local and central level. This is a serious worry for Communists. They are especially perturbed by the unwillingness of a number of mass media to meet the Central Committee's demands regarding weighty and considered coverage of sociopolitical processes. As before, television and radio broadcasts and the newspapers and journals every so often display prejudice, bias, and hasty conclusions which do not ease but whip up tension in the republic.

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Department and party gorkoms and raykoms were instructed to immediately analyze the work of the mass media and submit proposals on party responsibility by Communist journalists who ignore the demands made by the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee January Plenum.

Party gorkoms and raykoms were asked to accelerate the discussion of plenum materials and the elaboration of specific measures aimed at improving the health of interethnic relations and consolidating society's healthy forces on the platform of the 19th all-union party conference decisions.

The conference participants unanimously approved a Central Committee Bureau decision condemning antirestructuring actions by the movement for Latvia's national independence and outlined a series of specific measures for its fulfillment.

The conference emphasized that Communists must firmly rebuff all manifestations of extremism and attempts at political or economic pressure on the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and the government, no matter where they might originate.

Ya.Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the conclusion of the conference. He emphasized that party committees and party organizations today have no task more important than strengthening the party ranks' unity, because today only a strong party is capable of combining the interests of different social formations and prompting them to specific deeds for the deepening of restructuring. Every party organization must be firmer in taking Communists to task, and more exacting when it comes to breaches of the party's statutory demands.

People now expect primarily specific actions and specific changes instead of more rallies and promises. It is therefore especially important to translate the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee January Plenum decisions into the language of specific work and to teach people to solve pressing problems through labor rather than with with the help of more and more resolutions.

* Estonia Sets Pace for Economic Accountability

18200238 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 2 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by Valeriy Badov and Viktor Shirokov: "Does Narva Need a Customs Checkpoint?"]

[Text] At first, restructuring reached Estonia not as a wind of change but rather as a light breeze from the sea. The previous republic leadership did not rush changes. Many cherished the hope that what is not broken does not have to be fixed. The republic has one of the highest rates of per capita consumption in our country. However, actually the economy of Estonia was not going anywhere. The rate of growth of national income in Estonia fell from 5.6 to 2 percent. Total savings of the populace soared by almost R400 million since the beginning of the current 5-Year Plan. These "footloose" millions were an irrefutable sign of things going bad.

Then came the "hot summer" of 1988, though at the coast the weather was as usual, it rained. The movement of the People's Front in Defense of Restructuring spread and embraced the entire republic, including the very boondocks. Three hundred thousand people who gathered at the Field of Singers demanded changes scanning the word "IME." What do these letters mean? Economically accountable Estonia! There is also another interpretation: in Estonian, "ime" means "miracle."

On the eve of the constituent congress of the NFE [People's Front of Estonia], the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA published a draft IME concept. When delegates to the congress enthusiastically voted in favor of the IME, they in effect proclaimed a high road toward an economic miracle.

Certainly, a miracle cannot be decreed, but everyone has a right to weigh, without delusions or prejudice, how solidly, beautifully, and intelligently the concept is put together. Without exaggeration, the IME is a far-reaching scenario for transforming the economic life in the republic. It was developed by a "think tank" under the auspices of the Institute of Economics of the Estonian SSR Gosplan. About 30 coauthors of the IME concept did not prefer to remain anonymous. This goes to stress yet again the creative, restructuring nature of their attempt at an intellectual breakthrough in the spirit of glasnost and democratization. It was noted even earlier, at a plenum of Estonian unions of artists, that the idea of republic economic accountability gave rise to hopes. An upsurge of civic awareness came instead of "an atmosphere of political alienation, cynicism, and disappointment," which seemed to be insurmountable as recently as 3 years ago.

Many Estonians find appealing the radical nature of the concept now subjected to a popular discussion in Estonia. Indeed, the IME is permeated by economic "futurism." In keeping with the plans of the authors of the concept, in the future economically accountable Estonia must build its relations with other constituent republics and foreign countries on the principles of equivalence. All means of production are "transferred" to the ownership of the republic. All-union affiliation of industrial and transportation enterprises is canceled. The budget of the republic will not be a part of the all-union budget. All enterprises pay taxes to the treasury of the republic. The organization of banking and monetary circulation includes also the emission of [Estonia's] own currency. Its exchange rates against the ruble and other currencies are introduced. Economically accountable Estonia pays a union tax at a rate set for a long period of time. The republic participates in the all-union division of labor on the basis of an equivalent exchange of goods. For as long as price setting and wholesale trade in the country are not straightened out, physical volumes of mutual deliveries of the main kinds of resources are to be set forth in agreements with the union government.

The authors of the concept emphasize that setting the Estonian economy apart is not an end unto itself or a naive effort to ensure autarchy. They say that there is simply no other way to create a market in the republic in which supply and demand will be in balance. Siim Kallas, one of the originators of the IME, our colleague from the newspaper RAHVA HAAL told us, "In the absence of stable monetary circulation, not one incentive for work will have an impact; the entire eventual increment of consumer goods will be siphoned away to the outside." Other proponents of the IME said that the idea is not at all to grab what you can. The IME does not promise Estonians streets paved with gold. As our interlocutors soberly saw it, "On the contrary, at first we will have to tighten our belts slightly in order to live strictly within our means."

Those who do not share the views of the authors of the IME concept inquire whether this kind of economic accountability will not call for building a customs checkpoint on the bridge which links Ivangorod in Russia with Narva in Estonia.

Says Vaino Valjas, who assumed leadership of the republic party organization last summer: "I am a native of Hiiumaa Island. Seven generations of my ancestors went out to sea to get sprats and exchanged them for bread at the mainland. They managed this themselves, through mutual benefit. They did not need any State Committee for Prices. At present, all of us in this country are extremely befuddled by the tutelage and regimentation imposed by the center. Regions are simply moaning because they are not masters in their own houses. Influential all-union ministries took little heed of local interests. In turn, the previous leadership of the republic was too obliging to them. Ministerial interests were passed off as those of the entire state. This was the case with the notorious affair of phosphoryte deposits at Rakvere. The USSR Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production arbitrarily set the goal of exploiting them, disregarding unavoidable catastrophic consequences for the republic. The public rose up in resolute protest and the project was turned down. In all of this our leadership assumed a passive attitude. Alas, it also regarded the republic economic accountability as an innovation being "the work of the devil." In other words, some leaders failed to provide leadership and had to go. At the 11th Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, we renounced the inertia of the years of stagnation and assumed an active attitude. As is known, the plank on regional economic accountability was included in the resolution of the 19th party conference. As I see it, the economic accountability of territories is a key to more harmonious interethnic relations in our country.

One of the creators of the concept of Estonian economic accountability, economist Rein Otsason, recently became head of the Estonian Gosplan. His article on the republic economic accountability is characteristically entitled "The Lane Is Marked." What is the basis for his confidence in the efficacy of the IME? We are talking with him at his Gosplan office. Here is his line of reasoning:

"Opponents of the IME argue that it pits local interests against all-union ones. In turn, presumably, the preservation of the current unlimited centralist rights of all-union ministries ensures the unity of the national economy of our country. However, the heart of the matter is whether such unity is ensured through directives or economic methods. Management by directives turns out to be destructive for our economy. Let us ask whose property the fixed assets are. Everybody owns everything—this was the simplified interpretation of the notion of all-people's property in our country. However, monopolistic ministries are the real owners, and—this is not new, by any means—they are not the ones to look out for the interests of the entire people. Only a narrow circle of people in the structures of power defends these supreme interests."

Our interlocutor continues: "In any healthy economy, both the citizen and the society have to live within their income. What if we switch the components around and 'peg' our income to our outlays? Nonsense? However, this very mechanism of distribution is in effect in our country. There is no direct linkage between production and consumption. This is apparent at the level of a city, rayon or republic. Equivalent exchange is replaced by command distribution of resources and benefits. This is why all those in the market want to purchase rather than export goods. This is the primary cause of the slack in our economy. There is no incentive for self-induced development in it. Parasitical attitudes in the regions are 'instilled' through centralized planning. Mistakes are unavoidable when anything and everything is planned from the center. In the regions, these mistakes are unwittingly interpreted as deliberate, whereas actually all of this turns on a stroke of the pen of an anonymous and not necessarily competent official at a central ministry. How is this unsatisfactory situation to be changed? We should turn the 'pyramid' over: Expenditures should be based on incomes, rather than vice versa! Instead of the patronizing 'equalization,' there should be the socialist principle of income based on the results of labor. The Law on the Enterprise has given this right to every enterprise and employee. The IME concept goes further: Only the new values created in the region should be the source of all proceeds of local republic budgets. This implies a sovereign right to use the profit generated. Self-capitalization, or meeting the expenditures of the region from its income, is the foundation for this."

This is an outline of economic accountability Estonian style. Does it not look like a retro-sovnarkhoz of sorts, but on a supposedly market rather than administrative basis? The IME concept also assumes the cancellation of branch-based management of the republic economy. The generous hand of the ministries will not be missed. Let us say that they are obsolete as organs of command management. However, simply put, does this not involve an "even exchange?" After all, following the logic of authors of the IME, a ghost of a new managing "office" in the form of a competent republic ministry emerges over economically accountable enterprises, sovereign under the law. So, is a retro-sovnarkhoz to crop up in adjacent Novgorod? It turns out that it is not. The authors of the IME make the reservation that rights of oblasts and krays are not on par with those of union republics. Supposedly, the former are based not on their own property, but on that of the republic. "Correspondingly, economic accountability is more restricted there," stresses Rein Otsason in the article "The Lane Is Marked." It appears that there is a hidden catch in this interpretation of property. After all, Comrade Otsason states himself that economic sovereignty is synonymous with economic accountability, with the qualification "in the case of union republics." What is the reason for this "exclusion" of krays and oblasts from the essentially correct equation? Indeed, it is not easy to comprehend why, say, Krasnoyarsk Kray which supplies the entire Soviet Union with its resources and knows its way around the international marketplace should be content with "restricted regional economic accountability?"

If the legend about the privileges of the famous Hanseatic city of Tallinn which traded with all of Europe lies close to the heart of the Estonian, then the Russian [northern] coast native is no less mindful of the time when "Leseksport" in the far-away white-stone [capital city of Moscow] was nowhere in evidence, and vessels of "Britisher merchants" were loaded with timber in the mouth of the Northern Dvina. Will the sum of "restricted" economic sovereignties of Russia's autonomous republics, oblasts, and krays indeed give complete sovereignty to the union republic, the RSFSR?

The IME draft declares that self-management and democracy are the guarantees of "the replacement of branch management by regional management not bringing about a new variety of bureaucratism." Let us believe it, but.... Economically accountable enterprises freed from enslavement by ministries will be, by definition of the same Gosplan chairman, "drawn into a system of republic management." On another occasion, he explained unambiguously: will be "ADMINISTRATIVELY subordinated" to the republic council of ministers. Siim Kallas brings out the heart of the matter clearly: "Republic as a single enterprise." Was not our entire union a "single enterprise" for the retiring administrative and command system? As we see it, "administrative" subordination is as nonsensical a detail in the IME concept as a connecting rod and a crank would be in a jet turbine.

Should the republic introduce its own currency? This is one of the most debatable issues in the IME draft. This is the opinion of I. Nit, an economist from the Moscow State University: "The authors of the IME are right in that the country as a whole needs a strong currency in order for the reform to succeed. Is the variant feasible which provides for the introduction of Estonia's own currency convertible into the ruble, and in the long run into the mark and pound sterling?... If the ruble itself does not become convertible, this is definitely impossible. If the issue of convertibility were that easy to solve, there would not be any need for an intermediate currency. There are many serious obstacles to it, including incompatible price ratios. In our country, they are artificially distorted compared to proportions in the world market. The 'expenditure-oriented' mechanism multiplies the overabundance of funds in the accounts of enterprises and in the wallets of the citizens. So, if Estonia will convert its hypothetical currency into rubles, consumer goods will continue to be siphoned away into the unsaturated market of our country. Otherwise, when you presumably make the local currency convertible, you would have to throw up customs barriers between yourself and the rest of the country, and in effect, to switch to a barter exchange with it."

This transformation of an equivalent exchange into barter is bewildering as it is.... Anyway, this does not take back those enthusiastic about trying their luck in the foreign markets. As they see it, the sovereign republic, having paid to the national treasury a tax in money to meet its obligations to the union, will sort of set out to do business overseas. Without any reservations, hard-currency self-capitalization is a good and respectable endeavor, provided you do not come up short!

...In 1920, one owner astutely sold his profitable plant to the joint stock company "Ilmarine." He must have gazed at a crystal ball. The "Ilmarine," cut off from the familiar boundless Russian market, wilted, medals received by engines of the plant's brand at a Paris exhibition in their time notwithstanding. Very soon, the shareholders, pressed by mighty foreign competition, were grasping at any order, even piece order—from "cuckoo" shunting engines to distillery equipment. Why this vignette? The thoughts of some credulous and excitable people have drifted off to Western markets flowing with milk and honey. They have difficulty getting used to the idea that, unfortunately, Estonia does not have a passable export potential (this is also a consequence of stagnation). At present, the republic receives only one-third of the hard currency it spends as proceeds from [exporting] its own products; the rest is in aid from the union coffers.

A competent opinion on this topic of the recently elected Secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, sociologist Mikk Tiitma: "For Western entrepreneurs, the Estonian market is of no interest. For them, entering the capacious all-union market with us as intermediaries is lucrative. The time is near when all nations in our country will become aware even more profoundly that only within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics we represent a superpower with which it is profitable for other countries to do business." Mikk Tiitma comes out in favor of creating a free economic zone in Estonia.

It is characteristic that many economists gravitating toward the People's Front do not want to hear anything about any free zone. Why? Does it not promise a generous influx of capital, technology, contemporary managerial know-how? This is where it comes out what is closer to whose heart. Some have a pragmatic desire to open wider a window on all corners of the world. It looks like others would like to leave open only a window on Scandinavia, return to hamlets, and become something like a dairy farm of Europe. Illusory as these economic dreams are, such an attitude is widespread. Who is to blame for them? The guilt devolves on the long-glorified fiftyfivefold increase in industrial output in Estonia. This tidal wave of unbridled industrialization has transformed the customary habitat of Estonians too much. In an effort to ensure rapid progress and development of the union republic, proponents of extensive economics acted as a bull in a china shop. The industrial boom created a touchy problem of hundreds of thousands of "migrants," and exacerbated interethnic relations.

The union ministries, knowledgeable about the technology of shale, phosphorus, and electricity, did not appreciate their lack of knowledge of social technology. By drawing Estonia still further into the all-union division of labor, they were doing a good deed, but with inadequate means. By importing labor to Estonia by hundreds of thousands, the technocrats did not at all bring ethnic groups closer together, but unwittingly contributed to setting them apart. How else can the fact be explained that at enterprises reporting to union ministries Estonians account for only 15 percent? Extensive economic growth tore into the thin fabric of interethnic relations as the blade of a bulldozer peeling the turf off a green meadow. This belated, but bitter lesson is a precautionary note for the future.

"The IME is a revolution in the economy of the republic, and in our enlightened time, revolutions should be made without 'blood,' without stopping 'trains,' in stages, without jumping over the steps," said Paul Treir aptly. We liked the laconic wording of the general director of the "Talleks" Association. Our conversation took place at the height of a business day at the plant. P. Treir sympathizes with the IME concept, but in a balanced manner. His native Estonian common sense is not the only reason. He has the pragmatic frame of mind of a person who has been involved in actual business all his life and who has gone to the school of hard knocks in our rigid planned economy. This is why he has reservations concerning some rash radical ideas such as: The IME may be introduced all at once by a single legislative act.

How does he imagine the life of "Talleks" under the republic economic accountability? "After gaining freedom from the tutelage by the Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machinebuilding, we would not at all want to acquire an 'office' in Tallinn in which our new 'curator' will surface. We are not going to yield our independence provided for by the Law on the Enterprise. We will fight to be competitive in the international market."

How many contractors does "Talleks" have throughout the Soviet Union? Dozens. This is the empirical angle from which they view the IME here. In general, the difference between the approach of enterprise managers and scientists, economists who developed the IME, is striking. What remarks have the industrialists made on the margin of the draft? "The concept is bold, but some important issues in it are resolved intuitively. Some of the provisions of the draft contradict the Law on the Enterprise. No solid linkage with the current expansion of the rights of soviets can be found...." It is disappointing that managers of the largest enterprises in Estonia were not drawn into developing the concept. The word in the People's Front is that they are "stagnants" to a man, that is, conservatives and "lieutenants" of the ministerial bureaucracy.

Indeed, before the Law on the Enterprise they were segregated in ministerial "compartments." Now that they have rights this is different. Their interest in developing the social sphere with their funds coincides with the interest of the republic.

Enterprises reporting to union ministries are establishing horizontal links. The United Council of Labor Collectives was set up for joint investments, mainly in the social sphere in Estonia. The draft of economically accountable Estonia was the subject of a heated discussion there. Its developers were asked pointed questions. For example, why does the concept make these ambiguous and unintelligible references to the relationship of centralized planning and regional economic accountability?

If property is divided into republic and union, will the "basic" branches—power generation, chemical industry, railroads—be split?

What will happen with cooperation in the branches?

Finally—this cannot be passed over in silence—collectives of the "Dvigatel," "Prompribor," and other plants cannot understand why enterprises reporting to all-union ministries, which produce a significant part of Estonia's national income, are considered by some activists of the People's Front to be a burden of sorts for Estonia. Siim Kallas just grinned when we asked him for his opinion: "This is the opinion of ignoramuses. How can something that brings a profit be a burden?"

One of the speakers at the People's Front congress, invoking a biblical saying, said: "There was a time when we threw stones. Now the time has come to gather them." Indeed, the economy of the time of stagnation has thrown many "stones" throughout our country which must now be removed from our way. Let us enumerate the boulders in this array: plan allotment, the lack of powers of soviets, merciless plunder of natural resources by the ministries. The ministerial bureaucracy took a liking to the lucrative position of a "cook" at the all-union "community pot." Under the plausible excuse that relations of selling and purchasing between fraternal peoples under socialism are not proper, officials engaged in the arbitrary distribution and redistribution of the fruits of our truly common labor.

This is how it turned out that in the 8th decade of Soviet power we have no instruments to ensure equivalent exchange between republics. The "non-commercial" basis for the exchange of merchandise resulted in nothing good, but rather in mutual misunderstandings. This is to say nothing about narrow-minded rumors spread here and there to the effect that their particular republic was being "shortchanged." Recent nationalist phenomena have sprung up exactly from this weed seed of non-equivalence.

For the economy of our country to be reborn and to acquire the energy for self-induced development, we need to shift the center of managing economic and social life to where the wealth of the country is created—to the councils of labor collectives and the soviets of people's deputies. We need an economically justified exchange of merchandise between union republics and the creation of an all-union socialist market.

These polemical observations on the IME express the opinion of the two authors, one of the many opinions voiced now during an extensive discussion of the draft in the Baltic area. We have tried to show both its strong and debatable aspects. Nor did we pass in silence over some ideas which to us appear detrimental and conservative. Indeed, while the trend toward far-reaching economic integration is getting stronger throughout the world (as exemplified by the movement toward creating a single capacious EEC market), the IME is expressly leaning toward setting the Estonian market apart. Such a propensity could be weaker if the dismantling of the administrative-command system in our country would proceed less slowly and inconsistently.

The heterogeneity of forces which have rallied around the blue-black-and-white banners of the People's Front is also showing. There are characters there whose thinking sort of froze in 1939. There also are enthusiasts of the IME who do not mind using this economic concept as a miraculous icon.

An economic miracle cannot be decreed. You cannot promise it to people as if it were some patented drug. There is nothing worse than the betrayed hopes of a people experiencing an upsurge of civic enthusiasm. This very difficult time for profound changes and choosing the way has now come in Estonia.

Why do they approach the IME with such anxious anticipation in Estonia? We believe that it is regarded as a safeguard for restructuring in the republic—just in the extreme case the economic reform in the country gets bogged down, as has happened before. Indeed, the undercurrent of resistance by epigons of the administrative-command system is strong. The bureaucracy to whom the element of self-government, including regional economic accountability, is alien hangs together both in the center and in the field.

The sociologist Mikk Tiitma says that our country needs hearths in which regional economic accountability would advance at a more radical pace, and that Estonia is mature enough to play this role. This may be true: Someone has got to be the first. However, the unavoidable risk of such a far-flung experiment as an economically accountable republic must be counterbalanced. A proven, perspicacious, truly scientific concept proceeding from the ideas and resolutions of the 19th party conference should be the guarantee. The time has passed when "directions" for economic experiments were conceived in an environment of office secrets in central ministries. It is not an accident that councils of ministers of union republics took part in developing the draft of General Guidelines for Restructuring the Management of the Economy and Social Sphere in these republics on the basis of self-management and self-financing, which was considered by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo days ago.

As we learn the science of democracy, all of us should keep in mind one of the most important commandments: All radical changes in the arrangements for the life of peoples belonging to the fraternal union of republics may only be based on the Constitution of the USSR. Moreover, decisions affecting such cornerstones of the rule-of-law state as property relations cannot be made off-hand, without preliminaries, but only on the basis of a consensus and a fair balance of interests.

We would like to complete these remarks with the words of a delegate to the congress of the People's Front from rural boondocks: "The community of Viirumaa has instructed me to convey that it supports regional economic accountability. May reason, hope, and diligence abide with us!"

Strike Committee Formed Over Estonian Flag Issue

PM1703135589 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 28 Feb 89 p 3

[Ya. Tolstikov report: "Situation Remains Complex"]

[Text] As already reported in the press, on 24 February a rally organized by the workers of a number of shops was held on the territory of the head plant of the "Elektrotekhnika" Association. It was prompted by the hoisting that morning of the Estonian national flag on the Pikk Hermann tower (as is well known, the Estonian SSR state flag was lowered from that flagstaff the previous evening)—the Upper City is clearly visible from the plant's territory, and the whole flag-hoisting ceremony was in full view of people at the plant. The event was greeted by no means unequivocally at the plant. That very morning the Estonian SSR state flag was hoisted on the roof of one shop (although the statute does not envisage this), and red flags later appeared over other shops at the association (they are flying to this day).

A strike committee was elected at the 24 February rally. However, work in the shops continued, people also worked Saturday 25 February, and some subdivisions also worked Sunday 26 February. However, yesterday, Monday, the strike committee met once again. That same day the plant party committee held an emergency session, after which repreesentatives of most of the plant subdivisions assembled for a meeting in the plant club on the party committee's initiative; V. Miroshnichenko, the association's general director, I. Borodin, secretary of the party committee, and B. Moronov, chairman of the plant's Labor Collective Council, were also present. The turbulent discussion of the political situation in the republic was continued.

The workers and the plant intelligentsia were perturbed that the state flag had been lowered on Pikk Hermann and the national tricolor hoisted there. But that is a pretext. The reason for the alarm, in the opinion of certain people at the plant, is that legislative acts infringing, or so they say, the rights of the Russian-speaking population are being adopted in the republic or are being proposed for examination by the Supreme Soviet. A number of public statements from lofty rostrums are questioning the gains of socialism in the USSR. And so forth. "We see no support for the rights of the Russian-speaking population in the Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers," representatives of shops and sections said at the 27 February meeting. "And we are prepared to take extreme measures, up to and including stopping work, unless the strike committee's demands are satisfied."

What are the demands? They include hoisting the Estonian SSR state flag on the highest point in Tallinn; suspending the work of the republic Supreme Soviet's commissions on questions of citizenship and on elaborating the new Estonian SSR Constitution; and suspending the operation of the Estonian SSR Law on Language—pending the adoption of decisions at the CPSU Central Committee plenum on interethnic relations. Mistrust of a number of republican leaders was also expressed.

We are not against the Estonian national flag, it was said at the meeting, and, of course, the Russian working class is not against the Estonians, but we are against the unwise actions of a number of republican leaders, the workers of the plant named for Kalinin said. And we are not going to tolerate this any longer.

There were again calls to hold a joint protest strike together with the workers of other enterprises in the United Council of Labor Collectives. However, the majority were opposed to this extreme measure. The plant party committee decided to hold a open party meeting 2 March, the agenda being the question of the political situation in the republic. Together with the strike committee, it was decided to organize a mass rally in Tallinn in March, at which to put forward the workers' demands in the name of the enterprises in the United Council of Labor Collectives. It was also decided to demand the convening of a republican party aktiv meeting or of an extraordinary Central Committee plenum. A permanent staff (7 people) was elected from among the strike committee.

The situation at the plant remains complex and unstable.

Estonian Feelings Run High

PM1703144589 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 4 Mar 89 p 1

[ETA report: "Meetings of Communists"]

[Text] The events which preceded the celebration of Estonian Independence Day and the events of the day itself exacerbated the political situation inside the republic. Opinions over the lowering of the Estonian SSR state flag from the Big Hermann Tower were divided. Some saw the replacement of it by the blue, black, and white national flag as a restoration of historical justice, while others viewed the lowering of the state flag as an antisocialist action directed against Soviet power. The speech at the ceremonial hoisting of the national flag by E. Savisaar, one of the leaders of the Estonian People's Front, added fuel to the flames. Communist E. Savisaar made insulting attacks on the flag beneath which the party of which he as a member has fought and continues to fight, and Deputy E. Savisaar of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet—the republic's supreme organ of state power—insulted the Estonian SSR state flag.

As always in such cases, there were forces interested in fueling passions as much as possible and totally destabilizing the situation. In particular, this was manifested in the anti-Soviet banners at a rally in City Hall Square and was also manifested during the 24 February rally at the "Elektrotekhnika" Science and Production Association, where what can only be described as a provocative rumor was circulated to the effect that a telephone call from the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee had ordered that the Estonian SSR state flag hung up by the workers be removed from one of the shops.

As already reported, a strike committee and staff were formed at the science and production association. On 2 March not only the association's Communists, but also many nonparty people—in all, around 1,000 people—went to the Tallinn Officers' House for an open party meeting.

The speeches noted that in the last 6 months national relations in Estonia have been extremely strained and nationalist sentiments have been clearly expressed. These are fueled by the mass news media. Discriminatory legislative acts are being adopted, documents violating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are being submitted for consideration, and a direct revision of the existing state system is taking place. In the assessment of the meeting participants, the political process in Estonia is increasingly moving toward the restoration of the bourgeois republic. These processes are taking place with the direct connivance of the Estonian SSR's leading organs. The voice of the Russian-speaking population is not being heeded in the pluralism of opinions.

The meeting sharply condemned the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session's decision of 16 November last year and the Law on Language as discriminating against the Russian-speaking population. The meeting thought that there ought to be two state languages on the republic's territory—this is a vital need of everyday real life in a multinational state.

There was condemnation of the humiliating "passport-based," as the meeting called it, distribution of necessities and the discrimination with regard to the allocation of housing.

The meeting was addressed by G. Aleshin, second secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, who set out the Central Committee Bureau's viewpoint on certain issues and his own view of the problems on others.

That same day an open party meeting was also held at the "Dvigatel" Association. Over 600 Communists took part in it.

The meeting said that in the republic there is a nationally based lack of understanding and split between labor collectives. As at the meeting of Communists from the "Elektrotekhnika" Science and Production Association, mistrust of a number of leaders of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and government was expressed. It was stressed that the political initiative is in the hands of the leaders of the People's Front, who allegedly make no secret of their separatist aspirations in their speeches. The meeting participants stressed that they understand the Estonian people's wish to have and use their own national symbols, but they will not tolerate desecration of the red flag.

The meeting called on all Communists and working people at industrial enterprises to influence the republic's leadership through common efforts to prompt it to perform its party and constitutional duties to the whole people, regardless of nationality. The "Dvigatel" Communists also spoke of the lack of objectivity shown by the republic's press, television, and radio, which, they claimed, are totally in the hands of the ideas and activists of the People's Front, whose remarks inflame national strife, call for separation from the USSR, frankly idealize the bourgeois republic, and foster hostility toward everything Soviet and socialist. It was noted that such remarks are not publicly assessed by the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. It was stressed that there can be no national priorities in the party, and Communists who have forgotten this must be called to party account.

N. Ganyushov, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the meeting.

Meetings of Communists were also held at a number of other major industrial enterprises in the republic. The decisions they adopted coincide in their main theses, since they were formulated on the basis of a draft prepared by the Estonian SSR United Council of Labor Collectives Ideological Commission. It was decided to demand that the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee provide answers for primary party organizations to the decisions and resolutions adopted by the party meetings and conferences, hold in the very near future an all-republican rally of representatives of labor collectives, and also a republican party aktiv meeting or Estonian Communist Party Conference with 1 delegate per 25 Communists, and invite the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to it. The meetings deemed it one of Communists' main tasks to ensure unity of action in the course of the preparation and holding of the election campaign for Estonian SSR and local soviet deputies. The meetings demanded that the Estonian SSR state flag be restored on the Big Hermann Tower and that new legislative acts be suspended pending the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on interethnic relations.

Estonia's Vyalyas Addresses Meeting on Ethnic Issues

PM2003120789 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 8 Mar 89 p 1

[ETA-attributed P. Raydla report: "Meeting With Rayon Aktiv"]

[Text] On 6 March, V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, had a meeting at the Khaapsaluskiy party raykom with the local party, soviet, and economic aktiv.

V. Vyalyas briefly informed those present on how the course of renewal adopted by the 11th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum will continue and how the concept of Estonian self-management is being developed. Discussing the Law on Language, he asked: Has it been interpreted unequivocally? He then answered his own question:

No, it certainly has not. This is perfectly natural. For many years people have become used to a different way of thinking and to an oversimplified, if not deformed interpretation of ethnic relations. We have not always had the time, ability, and patience to explain this. But let us look back for a moment. Surely what we have begun in Estonia has found support in Moscow? Take the CPSU Central Committee address to the party and the people with its election platform, which clearly talks of economic independence, sovereignty, a respectful attitude to national culture, and language. Yes, our course has been adjusted. But we can say nevertheless that the course we have chosen is the right one.

Too little time has passed for everyone to be able to understand this. That is why a tense political situation has taken shape, which has been particularly exacerbated in the last few days. As you know, party meetings have been held in Tallinn, Kokhtla-Yarve, and Narva which very seriously criticized the Law on Language, economic accountability, Independence Day, and the raising of the national flag. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee has been accused of ignoring the interests of other peoples in Estonia.

No such desires and intentions have been in our thoughts, nor could they be. No one can say that we have doing anything that would discriminate against other peoples who have chosen to make Estonia their home. But for this everyone must understand that this land and this place are the only ones where the Estonian national culture, history, language, and traditions are represented. It is our common duty to protect this small corner of the earth, protect it against any repetition in the future of the many mistakes we have made in the past.

V. Vyalyas also talked about the International Movement Congress, noting that many of its speeches and resolutions did not aim to develop restructuring in Estonia but, on the contrary, very often carried a whiff of the past. Terrible accusations were leveled against the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and its leadership. Often they were simply caused by political thoughtlessness and heightened emotions. I can tell you, V. Vyalyas continued, that, discussing what it had heard at the congress, the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee defined its own viewpoint on Saturday evening. N. Ganyushov, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, and E. Cherevashko, head of an Estonian Communist Party Central Committee department, were sent to the congress. The congress demanded—in the form of an ultimatum—the presence of the first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. The Central Committee Bureau decided that it was prepared to discuss all questions with those empowered as the representatives of the International Movement. A reasonable, mutually respectful dialogue was hardly possible in an atmosphere where inappropriate remarks were being addressed to the Central Committee.

Summing up what he had said, V. Vyalyas stressed:

If we want—and we should want—to continue restructuring in the present situation, we should think very seriously about the future of Estonia. A split in policy will not get us anywhere. This should be understood by everyone who values the future of Estonia. It is impossible to make progress when everyone is pulling in different directions—like the swan, the crab, and the pike.

V. Vyalyas also dwelt on the development of foreign economic relations, stressing in this respect that fraternal feelings are strangers to business; he also dwelt on the need to strengthen the ranks of the Estonian Communist Party with young people. The first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee answered numerous questions concerning the most diverse aspects of life. But the conversation came back to interethnic relations again and again. V. Vyalyas noted:

At present everything is being artificially transferred to ethnic grounds. But, in actual fact, the main struggle is between those who really want restructuring and those who nostalgically long for the past.

* Estonian Official on Farms' 'Pressing Problems'

18240091 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 23 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by G. Tynspoyeg, first deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Estonian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee (Gosagroprom): "The Roads Which We Choose"]

[Text] We have been in a great hurry to move forward. With every 5-year plan we have been building more and more grandiose plans and drawing sky-blue horizons. And now, looking back over the field of our activities, we have discovered: An abundance of weeds have also sprouted together with the grain.

In my view, the economic miscalculations have hit the peasants particularly hard. They have been turned from the owner on the land to obedient executors of directives from the bureaucratic machinery. What has been the result of this? We have reached the point where we no longer can feed the country with our own resources and are forced to import grain, feed, and meat and dairy products.

At the upcoming plenum, Communists must provide an answer: How should we live in the future, how should we proceed, and what should be changed in the political and economic systems? We do not need more slogans, but a path of agricultural development based on a thorough analysis of the past.

Among the great number of pressing problems, I would isolate issues of organization of labor, forms of production, and forms of ownership. Today, we must recognize that the current economic relations in the rural area are holding back development and growth in production efficiency. The possibilities of the present organization of labor and production, for the most part, have been exhausted. That means we must look for new forms. I have in mind forms that liberate the peasants and enable them actually to become masters on the land.

In talking with people, and also in the press, the same thought sometimes slips in, that we supposedly must disband the kolkhozes and sovkhozes and give the land and equipment to the farmers. What is the result? First we forcibly created the collective farms, and now we will use the same methods to disband them?! But do the kolkhoz and sovkhoz workers themselves want this?

The results of Estonian agriculture (particularly for production efficiency) exceed the average union level. We have farms—the Estonia and Aravete kolkhozes, the Tartu Model Sovkhoz, the Adavere Sovkhoz, and so forth—where the level of production is higher than the average for the republic. In other words, it is not a matter of whether they are called a kolkhoz or sovkhoz, but correct organization of work and (this also applies to all forms of labor) the material concern of the agricultural workers.

A search is now going on for the most acceptable forms of organization of labor and production. At a number of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, family farms have proven themselves well. The collective of the Kekhtnaskiy Model Sovkhoz-Tekhnikum achieved high results after the departments switched to full cost-accounting [khozraschet]. Unfortunately, these methods of economic management are still not very widespread. But they help establish a feeling of being the boss and develop the economic thinking of agricultural workers. These forms, I believe, should also be implemented at enterprises for processing, storing and selling agricultural products. For example, the shops of meat-packing plants and dairy combines can be reorganized into small enterprises and leased to partnerships and cooperatives so they manufacture products which are not produced by big industry.

I also support the development of private subsidiary farms. Their vital activity can be confirmed by specific figures. The private sector, for example, provides roughly one-fifth of the gross livestock production and 85 percent of the fruit and vegetable production in the republic. This is with private farms having an insignificant portion of the land resources and being poorly mechanized. I will cite a specific fact. The yield per hectare of sugar beets last year on kolkhozes and sovkhozes was 4200 feed units; on the land of farms where they were raised under contract it was 6000; and on private plots it was 6500 feet units. As we can see, the difference is considerable. That is why I favor granting people the opportunity (on a legal basis, naturally) to expand land use so they can raise a larger number of livestock and acquire the necessary equipment and mixed feed—in short, everything necessary for their activities.

Now concerning farmsteads. Only recently have we begun talking seriously about them, although this is a traditional form of production for Estonians. But we must state immediately that the revival of farmsteads should not be turned into another campaign. This must be a natural, strictly voluntary process. Initially, its development requires a system of state privileges and assistance, legal and economic prerequisites, and, finally, the farmer must be protected by law. If we are able to create the necessary conditions, I think that in the future the farmers will provide a weighty share of the agricultural products in Estonia. The first step has already been taken. A resolution on the development of farmsteads has been adopted. The corresponding law is now being drawn up.

It is not by chance that I have dwelled in detail on the emerging diversity in forms of organization of labor in the rural areas. And it would be a mistake if we were to begin putting one form up against another. Different forms of production (this has already been proven by experience) can and must exist and confirm their vitality by concrete deeds. Kolkhozes, sovkhozes, interorganizational enterprises, and scientific production associations already exist side by side; the agricultural firm and small state enterprises have appeared. The day is not far off when joint stock companies, joint ventures with foreign companies, and other forms of economic management will be added to this list. The possibilities of the Law on Cooperation are still far from exhausted. I believe, for example, that intraorganizational cooperative partnerships will develop widely in the future. The first signs are already here—a partnership has begun operation at the Valga Sovkhoz. I think that this topic will come up for serious discussion at the upcoming CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Finally, we must grant peasants the right to decide for themselves what form of organization of labor suits them.

If we actually want to "emancipate" the farmer, we must also solve the problem of management of agriculture. In other words, we must answer: Should there be a Gosagroprom or not? There is something to think about here. Today, they criticize our apparatus (and justly so) for being cumbersome and slow in managing and for being isolated from the concerns of the rural area. They say: Must previously independent sectors of the national economy be consolidated under one roof at all? I would not give an unequivocal answer to that question. In Hungary, for example, the Ministry of Agriculture and Food is still involved in the forestry and fishing industries; in Finland, agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting industries are subordinate to one ministry. And there they do not consider these ministries to be too big. In other words, it is not a matter of how many sectors are combined, but the structure and organizational structure of the system. But let us not forget that the Gosagroprom emerged at a time when the command-order economy prevailed and there were still no laws on enterprise and cooperation. They made adjustments to production and economic relations. Taking the latter into account, at the end of last year the structure of rayon agro-industrial association (RAPO) and the republic Gosagroprom was changed somewhat, and the administrative machinery was reduced. But these are still half-measures.

I have no doubt that at the upcoming CPSU Central Committee Plenum there will be lively discussion on the tasks, structure and functions of the Gosagroprom. I would like to state my point of view. First of all, we must reject the command-order method, and free union bodies from functions which can be handled successfully at the local level. They must concentrate on resolving strategic problems and coordinate interrepublic and international economic relations. But this requires reorganizing the agro-industrial committees from union-republic into republic committees and dividing the economic and state functions. In other words, the republic committees must become, like the primary levels—kolkhozes, sovkhozes, farmers—masters on the land, make decisions and be responsible for their execution. Then the Gosagroprom will not only oversee, but also organize the work of jurisdictional enterprises, farms, and institutions, and protect their interests. In any event, I have learned that the Communists of the republic will defend this position at the upcoming CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

I believe that it is necessary to define clearly the relations between the center and the union republics at the plenum. In particular, issues of planning and prices. The peasant must know in advance, even before the start of the planting season, what the purchase price will be for a given product. Based on this, he will be able to plan the sowing areas and make an economic calculation. It is altogether impermissible for prices to be changed without any explanation or warning. Such was the case last year. On direction from above, the price for mixed feed was raised. As a result, many farms suffered considerable losses, but the main thing was that their faith in the firmness of decisions made was undermined. Such a practice, I believe, is impermissible; we must reject the command-order method. This also applies fully to state orders. The republic must know firmly: How much and what it must deliver to the all-union fund. The corresponding quotas must exist for this. Only then will peasants have an incentive to increase production.

Recently, I was in Moscow at the Union Gosagroprom. It involved the need to regulate interrepublic relations. They agreed in Moscow that a new system is needed which would arouse the economic interest of agricultural workers. In the republic we are now working on proposals and their substantiation for improving the system. The speed of the progress also depends on us.

Another thing bothers me. Lately, we have been talking much about the priority development of agriculture and about city assistance to the rural area (it is time to repay the debts). But how is this assistance reflected? They send a group of people from a plant or enterprise (sometimes by purchase order of the party raykom) for the potato harvest or haying season, and feel they have given the rural area support. But we need other, more substantial assistance. What do I have in mind? It may seem strange, but the plant workers must first put their own affairs in order. In recent years we have been receiving a variety of equipment, but its quality is low. Moreover, the prices, particularly for combines, are increasing excessively. Things are also in bad shape with small-scale mechanization—the equipment offered is not intended for farmers and leaseholders. True, lately enterprises of the republic Gosagroprom, cooperating with plants of heavy industry (the Tallinn Machine Building Plant, the Dvigatel Plant, and others) have begun producing plows, cultivators, planters, and feeders—just over 50 descriptions of machines and equipment altogether; however, in order to satisfy the needs of the rural area, the machine builders' contribution must be increased sharply.

We all know how tremendous the losses are during harvest and storage of agricultural products. The city folks could also help here. For example, on the basis of cooperation of resources in building storage facilities and vegetable stores. Such farm stores can be built in the areas of Lasnamyae, Mustamyae and Kopli in Tallinn. This would serve the interests of both the workers and the peasants. No one would be the loser.

I have touched upon only part of the problems that concern Estonian peasants and that, I hope, will be discussed at the upcoming CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Communists must provide a clear answer: Over what road will we proceed further? But let the movement forward be actually based on a new system of production relations in which the worker himself will become the main character.

Armenian Earthquake Commission Meets 20 Mar

LD2003184289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1704 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Yerevan, 20 Mar (TASS)—The state of the servicing of means of transportation was one of the issues on the agenda at today's CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission session on eliminating the consequences of the earthquake, which was held in the Armenian capital. The session was chaired by Ivan Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

In reports delivered by leaders of the USSR ministries of construction, road, and municipal machine building, and of automobile and agricultural machine building, it was stated that 15,000 trucks and over 10,000 bulldozers, graders, tracklayers, and other types of equipment are now concentrated in the regions which suffered the onslaught of the disaster. This is considerable potential at the present stage. In order to ensure that it functions normally, a decision was made as far back as the end of last year to set up regional servicing centers and support facilities in the towns of Razdan, Leninakan, Abovyan, and other places. Because heavy trucks predominate in the region's pool, service teams from the "Kamaz" production association work here. In the interests of improving the plants' interaction with consumers it is planned to hold an operational conference of chief engineers from the manufacturing enterprises in Leninakan.

However, the commission noted considerable shortcomings. In particular, the list of spare parts and aggregate being supplied to the republic already needs to be extended. A number of the new centers and outposts are remote from the concentration of motor vehicle and other technology, which reduces the efficiency of servicing. There is also a considerable shortage of storage premises. The heads of the relevant ministries and departments are charged with eliminating the shortcomings in the shortest possible time.

The state of the construction of housing and social and cultural facilities in the town of Spitak was also analyzed. Progress in this sphere is acknowledged as unsatisfactory, and the activity of the main contractors—the state construction committees of Armenia, Uzbekistan, and Estonia—was subjected to sharp criticism. It was rigorously stipulated that the drawing up and passing of master plans for all future residential areas of the town must be completed in March. The low level of planning for construction and assembly work by the Armenian State Construction Committee, which has still not set up the main contractor organizations, is seen as a shortcoming in the first quarter of this year. Less attention is being paid to clearing ruins in the town, which is threatened by the complication of the sanitary and epidemological situation. The republic's government is charged with examining the work of the State Construction Committee and its organizations, which are taking part in the planning and the construction of Spitak.

Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee participated in the commission's work.

Armenia's Second Nuclear Reactor Shuts Down

Power Conservation 'Order of the Day'

NC1803133389 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1300 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] The second reactor of the Armenian nuclear power plant will be shut down tomorrow and afterwards the efficient use of each kilowatt hour of electricity will be encouraged. The fact is that so far the republic has been the provider of power, yet starting tomorrow it will be relegated to the role of recipient of power from the other republics. An important role falls on the power workers at Yerevan's leading enterprises in the purposeful use and saving of power. In this regard, words of praise must be given to the workers of the main production factory of Transcaucasian cable enterprise, "Lenin" silk enterprise, Kanaker aluminium factory and to the people in several other enterprises who have done much to save power and use it efficiently. Individual drops make up the ocean: We want to say that all those who are at home or at work benefit from this bounty each moment and hour and must contribute in power saving. It must be remembered that the unnecessary use of each lamp and electricity (?appliance) has negative impact on the general effort. Let us learn to use power economically. This is the order of the day, and everyone is duty bound to listen to it.

Arutyunyan Foresees Power 'Problem'

NC2003133489 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 18 Mar 89

[Text] The Armenian nuclear power plant terminated its entire operations today. We bring to your attention a report by one of our colleagues.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] The 25th of February and the 18th of March 1989 gained significance in the annals of the republic in that acceding to the voice of reason the operations of the Armenian nuclear power plant's two reactors were shut down one after another. The Armenian nuclear power—which started operations 12 years ago—became history.

In retrospect, it is impossible not to overstate its importance for the republic's economy. Yet, it was also impossible to ignore the danger it posed. That is why our people wholeheartedly welcomed its closure. The people were awaiting this day with boundless patience and perturbations. Anxieties in this regard persisted given the fact that the nuclear power plant was operating in a very dangerous seismic zone of our republic. This was reconfirmed by the catastrophic earthquake which fortunately did not damage the plant, but only skirted it. It was necessary to rectify the error committed more than 10 years ago, which to put it mildly, was the result of scientific shortsightedness and unfounded daring.

In order to remove the potential disaster threatening our people's existence, it was necessary to discard once and for all the nuclear power plant pregnant with unforeseeable tragedy. This became an urgent requirement in particular after assessing the seismic situation in our republic in the aftermath of the earthquake in Spitak. With this in mind the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers appealed to the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Government to terminate the operations of the Armenian nuclear power plant even before the envisaged dateline. After the comprehensive study of this problem, the USSR Council of Ministers resolved the problem positively. That was the convincing evidence of the country's leadership's exceptional care and lofty humanitarian stance towards our people, and thus it has immeasurable moral and public significance. The closure of the Armenian nuclear plant could in fact be described as a historical event.

Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; Grant Voskanyan, chairman of the presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet; Vladimir Markaryants, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Nikolay Lukonin, USSR minister of atomic power; party and Soviet leaders and workers; workers of the USSR Atomic Power Ministry; the responsible employees of the Hayenergo [Armenian power industry]; and mass media representatives had come to participate in the closing ceremony of the Armenian nuclear power plant today.

Mihran Vartanyan, director of the nuclear power plant, in his statement said that the plant's collective is ready to shut down the second reactor thus totally terminating the operations of the plant. After the procedural studies the work commenced to terminate the operations of the second reactor.

On the occasion of the closure of the Armenian nuclear power plant we asked Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, to make a statement.

[S. Arutyunyan, in Russian] The closing of the Armenian atomic power station is no ordinary event for our republic, our people. It is well known how much emotion and fears were expressed with regard to the atomic station, and how actively questions relating to the safety of the Armenian atomic station operations were discussed. And here we are today finally closing down the second block, and the atomic station is in effect being shut down. I must say that the shutting down of the Armenian atomic station (?is not going to be missed). We in the Central Committee of the republic's Communist Party, the leaders of the republic, had taken up this question in earnest since last June. We raised the issue in the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers. An authoritative commission headed by deputy USSR Council of Ministers Chairman Shcherbina was then sent here. It was composed of scientists, senior experts. They looked carefully and in detail on the spot at the whole complex of issues related to the operations of the Armenian atomic station. They came to the conclusion that the atomic station must really be closed down. I must, moreover, delcare that both the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government showed great understanding toward this issue raised by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. And I believe that all our people, the entire population of our republic, welcomed with tremendous gratitude the decision of the USSR Council of Ministers on the closing down of the Armenian atomic station. As is known, and this is also noted in the resolution, it will be modified into a thermal station. But, unfortunately, even after the all-union government had adopted its resolution—this resolution was published in the press and we have spoken about it on numerous occasions—rumors are still circulating that the atomic station will not be shut down, that it is being closed down only temporarily for repairs, that its operations will again be resumed. I would like to take this opportunity today when people are listening to me to state definitely that these rumors, such talk, have absolutely no foundation. Another question that worries people and also the leaders of the republic and should concern labor collectives and party and soviet organs as well, is how we are going to ensure the uninterrupted supply of power throughout the republic. This is a big question, it is a fundamental question. The people's economy cannot function without electric power, and we have huge demands for power from the republic's population. This is a problem that we must solve, but how? Well, we must immediately solve the question of transferring [words indistinct]. That is why the first task today is the question of the economical use of electric power. We conscientiously declare that this requires a joint national program of operations for all organs, all collectives. As far as it concerns relations between [words indistinct] they must display a maximum saving in electric power. At the same time the Central Committee of the republic's Communist Party and the Armenian Council of Ministers have worked out concrete measures (?towards this end). It is already known that we are going to tap the capacity of the (?Narazdan) hydroelectric power station [words indistinct]. We must, of course, raise efficiency in the use of our (?existing) power sources, and we must finally take measures to rebuild and re-equip the energy sources of our republic. We have, therefore, to look ahead to a very serious, large scale, well thought out, scientifically based program which would permit us to ensure electric power supply for our republic. This is a big problem with which we will be dealing step by step.

[Reporter] What are the plans once the nuclear power plant is decommissioned? We requested Nikolay Lukonin, USSR minister of atomic power, to reply to this question.

[Lukonin in Russian] After the blocks have been stopped we will still need 2 ½ to 3 years to take out the fuel. A program to this effect has been worked out. Schedules for the removal of fuel have been confirmed, and the first batch of fuel was already dispathed at the end of February. This year additional batches of fuel will also be dispatched. Besides that, we have to carry out a large volume of work with regard to nature conservation. This also needs time, and that is why personnel will be burdened with additional tasks. And besides all that, there is still a lot of scientific research work to be done. In this regard also a number of institutes and organizations have been enlisted, and they have drawn up a program that will be implemented in the course of the next 3-4 years.

[Reporter] And thus, the Armenian nuclear power plant has been totally decommissioned starting today. On this occasion, which has in mind the security interests of our people, we must respond with conscientious heart and mind, by strict saving of electricity everywhere so that our cities, villages, and our multi-branched economy would not suffer from power famine. [end recording]

Official on Future of Plant

LD2003185889 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] [Announcer] A second unit of the nuclear power plant near Yerevan, capital of the Republic of Armenia, was stopped last Saturday. The first unit was stopped 3 weeks ago, so the Armenian nuclear power station is dead. Radio Moscow's (Yevgeniy Kolessi) has asked (Aleksey Mazalev) of (?a) national committee monitoring the safety of nuclear power facilities to comment.

[Begin recording; (Mazalev) in Russian with superimposed English translation] This is the first case of its kind in world practice. True, a unit of the Beloyarsk station in this country and a dozen of nuclear power plants elsewhere, were put out of action before. But all those stations had exhausted their lives. The Armenian plant was quite serviceable when it was stopped. Blueprints were prepared 18 months ago to modernize it, and they had already begun getting action when the powerful Armanian earthquake put an end to that. This means there's no problem left now that the second unit has been stopped. We have to be specific. A unit can be stopped very quickly—in fact in a few hours—but to make it safe for the environment means ridding the reactor fuel and because of the decay of radioactive fragmentations in the drill asemblies, the release of heat continues for 2 and ½ years. That's why fuel is first kept in tanks by the reactor. When cooled to a safe extent, it's taken to processing factories. [end recording]

[Announcer] (Aleksey Mazalev) was asked how they were going to bring the cooled fuel to processing facilities. Would this be safe?

[Begin recording; (Mazalev) in Russian with superimposed English translation] We will use a special container for the purpose. The container can withstand both a fall from a great height and a temperature as low as -50 degrees centigrade. One can even sit on top of it when it's carried by rail. The container is so solid and pressurized that it won't be damaged even in the zone of an explosion. [end recording]

[Announcer] And what's to become of the Armenian power plant?

[Begin recording; (Mazalev) in Russian with superimposed English translation] The government is considering the possibility to convert it into a gas-burning thermal power plant. [end recording]

Rumors of AES Reopening Denied

PM2103143589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by own correspondent S. Bablumyan: "The Armenian AES: Second Power Unit Shut Down"]

[Excerpts] On 18 March steam stopped swirling above the giant cooling towers of the Armenian AES. This occurred a few hours after the second power unit was shut down. The first, as IZVESTIYA has already reported, ceased operation 25 February. [passage omitted]

Two says before the AES was closed down, an Armenian Council of Ministers report denying rumors that the station was remaining in service appeared in the republic press. The reason for people's disquiet was the maintenance work begun at the station. The question was put this way: Why maintain something that is to be shut down and dismantled?

"In order," AES Director M. Vartanyan explained, "to guarantee the reliability of operation of systems ensuring the safety of the station until the fuel is completely removed."

There are many rumors in circulation that the closure of the AES still does not rule out the possibility of reopening it in case of extreme necessity. Commenting on this supposition, M. Vartanyan again reaffirmed that the decision to close the AES made by union organs will be strictly carried out.

From the editorial office: We turned to N. Lukonin, minister of nuclear power generation, who said:

"The rumors about the possible startup of the AES power units have no foundation. No one is going to revise the decisions to close down the station—they are final. But there are indeed many problems associated with the shutdown of the AES power units. The question of economizing on electricity and the implementation of corresponding measures are extremely urgent in the republic.

"I can also report that the Ministry of Power and Electrification is now studying the feasibility of installing gas turbines at the former AES using some of the station's facilities—cooling towers, ducting, chemical water treatment plant, pumping systems.... But I repeat once again: There can be no question of starting up the nuclear power units even in the event of 'extreme necesssity.'"

Arutyunyan on Refugees, Karabakh Committee

NC2003065689 Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 1 Mar 89 pp 1-3

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] V.A. Petrosyan, writer, chairman of the Armenian cultural fund: I think that the exchange of views on the relations between the party organs and the press is exceedingly important. The stance of mass media is contingent on the stance of the party committees. Now the course of mutual restraint has been chosen, and this is correct. It is not possible to evade historical facts. Our peoples [Armenians and Azerbaijanis] have lived side by side and shall continue to live like this. The good-neighborly relations must be shaped together through mutual effort.

However, lately I got hold of the 3 January 1989 issue of the wide circulation paper, ISDROIDEL, of the Azerbaijan SSR State Construction Committee. It has published an article entitled "There Is Only One Truth" which carries crude attacks against the Armenian people and against historical truths. And all these have been penned down not by an ordinary reader but by T. Aliyev, professor, dean of the Construction Engineering Institute and a member of the republic's peace fund.

I am in favor of restraint, but reciprocal restraint. Who else but the intellectuals must be an example on this issue.

Now, I would like to touch on the issue of refugees. Today, this problem acutely faces us. So far there has been no clarification on the issue, and this gives rise to rumors. A clear stance is required.

S.G. Arutunyan: The republic's leadership is not cold-shouldering the problems of the refugees. We are dealing with the problem in earnest, but there are extraordinary complexities. We already have half a million homeless in the earthquake zone, about 94,000 are on the waiting list for houses in Yerevan and other cities. More than 190,000 refugees were added to that. It is impossible to settle them in Yerevan and Ararat valley. It has been decided to exploit the mountainous regions and abandoned villages. The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers has passed a decision concerning the place and manner of their settlement and employment. In addition, supplementary means have been provided by way of material assistance to those families which so far have not received assistance. Effort is being exerted, but the people are barely aware of it.

S.G. Arutunyan: Now, the members of the Central Committee are visiting the refugees, meeting them, and are clarifying in detail as how to solve the problems. I think that the intellectuals must actively join in this important work. It is a grave problem. We are trying to convince the people to go to the villages where there are houses and jobs, but they refuse to do so; overall a few families have done so. We might possibly send them to Leninakan, Girovakan, and Spitak and provide them with temporary dwellings; let them live and work there.

A.G. Arutyunyan: At present there is in general no amenities in the earthquake zone. People are living under tents, in garages; many are deprived of their work places and have not yet been placed in jobs.

V.A. Petrosyan: The search for a solution is continuing, and it is important that everyone should hear about that. When V. Movsesyan made a TV commentary on the decision of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, the reception was not bad. People saw with wide eyes the efforts being undertaken for the amelioration of the refugees' conditions. Of course, at the same time efforts must be made to return the refugees to their former residential places. But it won't be proper to apply pressure.

S.G. Arutunyan: Only on a voluntary basis. The decision, too, stipulates that it should be on a voluntary basis. [passage omitted]

A.I. Matnosyan, writer: I would like to ask a question concerning the fate of those who were detained on charges of creating public disorder. Among them there are also the activists of the "Karabakh" committee. What's their guilt? If we cannot talk about this here, then where?

S.G Arutunyan: I think that the Karabakh movement and those people who face charges should not be equated. The investigation is virtually over and soon an open trial will ensue. Then it will be clear to everyone who is guilty and for what. If they are not guilty before the law, then they will be set free.

Armenian Government Authorizes Remembrance Day

NC1803134989 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0525 GMT 18 Mar 89

[From the review of SOVETAKAN AYASTAN]

[Text] The paper has published a decision by the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers. The decision states: To put into effect the 22 November 1988 Armenian SSR legislation condemning the 1915 genocide of the Armenians in Ottoman Turkey, the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers has decided to declare 24 April, the day of remembrance of the victims of the Armenian genocide, a non-working day and to change the rest day from 22 April, Saturday, 1989, to 24 April, Monday.

Baku Peaceful; Pre-election Campaign Continues

NC1403152889 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Notice by the Military Commandant's Administration of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] The Military Commandant's Administration of the Baku City Special District announces that the situation was peaceful in the republic's capital during the day. The industrial establishments worked steadily.

The pre-election campaign is continuing, and meetings are being held between the candidate deputies and the members of the electorate in individual work collectives and residential areas. Meanwhile, intensive preparation is under way in the city for the Nowruz festival, which the people adore.

No violations of public law and order have been recorded.

[Signed] The Military Commandant's Administration of the Baku City Special District.

Papers on Azerbaijan Interethnic Relations Meeting

NC1403190089 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 11 Mar 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The newspapers report on the meeting held by the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Interethnic Relations and International Training. Afrand Dashdamirov, who is the chairman of the commission, chaired the meeting.

The work carried out in connection with the minority communities in Azerbaijan SSR and the efforts by the Ministry of Popular Education, the Ministry of Culture, and the State (?Procuracy) to further consolidate this work in accordance with the decisions adopted by the plenum of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee held on 16 August 1988 were discussed in depth.

Azerbaijan Bureau Discusses Health Issues

NC1403175089 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Commitee Bureau has examined in depth the outcome of the meeting held by the republic's party economic aktivs on matters concerning the maintenance of public health. The republic's complex health program, which was drawn up by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee departments, the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, and the Azerbaijan Health Ministry and supported by the meeting held by the party economic aktivs, was approved with due consideration for the recommendations and suggestions that were put forward during the general public debate on the program.

A decision was adopted in connection with holding city and rayon party economic aktiv meetings and enlarged convocations by the collegiums of the ministries in April and May 1989. The meetings and convocations must approve the [word indistinct] and health programs.

Meanwhile, a republic-level center headed by El'mira Kafarova, deputy chairwoman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council fo Ministers, has been established to coordinate work and ensure the realization of the health program. Similar centers will be established in the cities and rayons.

The Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers was advised to consider the allocation of funds required for the realization of this complex program when drawing up the republic's economic and social development plans for 1990 and for the 13th 5-year plan period, including the period which will end in the year 2000. Meanwhile, the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee departments were advised to submit the accounts of the party committees, the ministries and main administraitons, the local soviet executive committees, and the leading communist officials of the economic and social organizations on their work to resolve matters concerning the maintenance and consolidation of public health. The accounts will be considered by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and Secretariat.

The mass media organs were advised to give wide coverage to the way the health program is realized, as well as to the positive experience and enterprising work of the ministries and main administrations, local organs, and work collectives in maintaining public health, providing medical services to the workers, and improving sanitary and ecological conditions in residential areas. They were also advised to resolutely condemn irresponsible and [words indistinct] approach toward the settlement of [words indistinct] social problems.

Azerbaijan Construction Committee Chairman Appointed

NC1403195089 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 12 Mar 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The newspapers report that Dadash Asanov, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Presidium, has been appointed chairman of the State Committee for Construction. This decree was issued by the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and was published in the newspapers today.

Azerbaijan Supply Committee Chief Appointed

NC1403202089 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 11 Mar 89

[From the Republican Press Review]

[Text] The newspapers published today the decree issued by the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium on the appointment of A. S. Azizbayev as chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply. The newspapers published his biography as well.

Khabarovsk Gorkom Elects New First Secretary

OW1403043589 Khabarovsk Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] A plenum of the gorkom was held today in Khabarovsk. An organizational question was discussed. Aleksandr Nikolayevich Sokolov was elected first secretary and member of the bureau of the Khabarovsk party gorkom. Previously, he worked as director of the Khabarovsk Gorkiy Plant.

Aleksandr Nikolayevich Sokolov was born in 1950 and has been a party member since 1971. He began his labor activities in 1967 as an assemblyman fitter at the Gorkiy Plant. He completed a correspondence course at the Khabarovsk Railway Engineering Institute. He has experience in Komsomol and party work.

Kazakh Supreme Soviet Session Held 10 Mar

LD1303134989 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1500 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Excerpts] An information report on the sessions of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet:

The 12th session of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation was held on 10 March 1989 in Alma-Ata, in the session hall of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee; Anufriyev, Bashmakov, Davletova, Dzhanibekov, Kuzmenko, and Mendybayev, members of the bureau of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee; and Gukasov and Miroshnik, candidate members of the bureau of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, were in the Presidium. (Krekunov), deputy head of party construction and work with cadres departemnt of the CPSU Central Committee, and Chazov, minister of health of the USSR, where also present. Members of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and members of the government were in the boxes.

The session was opened by Deputy (Mavlenkulov), deputy chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet. On the report made by Vinogradov, chairman of the Credentials Commission, the Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution to recognize the plenary powers of the newly elected deputies. The agenda of the session was approved: on the chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, on changes in the composition of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, on the work of the local soviet and economic bodies of the republic in implementing the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "on the basic directions in developing the protection of health of the population and in the restructuring of the USSR health care in the 12th 5-Year Plan and in the period up to the year 2000," on ratification of the decrees of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, on reorganization and the introduction of changes in the composition of the permanent commissions of the Kazakh SSR

The floor was given to Deputy Kolbin, first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee. On the instruction of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee, he submitted a proposal supported by the party group and the council of elders at the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet, to elect as chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deputy Sagdiyev, first secretary of the Kokchetav obkom. The Supreme Soviet unanimously adopted the resolution on the elected deputy Sagdiyev, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Comrade Sagdiyev expressed deep gratitude and cordial thanks to the CPSU Central Committee, to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee, and to the republican supreme soviet for the great trust placed in him by his election to the post of chairman ofthe Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and gave an assurance that he will not spare his efforts to justify the trust placed in him.

A resolution of the Supreme Soviet was adopted on the release of deputy Kubashev from his duties as member of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in connection with his retirement on pension. Deputy Mendybayev, second secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee was unanimously elected as member of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

A report on the work of the local soviet and economic bodies of the republic in implementing the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and of the USSR Council of Ministers "on the basic directions in developing the protection of health of the population and in restructuring USSR health care in the 12th 5-Year Plan and in the period up to the year 2000" was delivered by Deputy Asanbayev, deputy chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers.

An additional report on this issue was made on behalf of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Premanent Commission on Health Care and Social Security, on issues related to the work and everyday life of women, on protection of motherhood and childhood, by Deputy (Sharafatdinov), deputy chairman of the Commission for Health Care and Social Serurity. [passage omitted]

Chazov, minister of health of the USSR, spoke at the session. Deputies unanimously adopted a resolution on the matter which had been discussed. A report made by deputy Nurpeyisov, secretary of the KASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the decrees of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium were approved. With the aim of accelerating the work of deputies and increasing the work productivity of the permanent commissions of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet on power engineering, transport and road work, communication, consumer goods, trade, physical culture, sports, tourism, as well as science and technology, Changes were introduced in the permanent commissions already in operation before and in those which were newly set up. The 12th session of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation then ended its work. [passage omitted]

Satellite Station Goes Into Service in Kazakhstan

LD2003100889 Alma-Ata Domestic Service n Kazakh 0700 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Summary] People living in the remote area of the Karmakchy Rayon in Kzyl-Orda Oblast are now able to watch central and republican television programs. A satellite relay station has gone into service here. This is the 11th such station in the oblast, and 6 more will be commissioned by the end of this year.

Group Against Nuclear Tests Set Up in Alma-Ata

LD1503181989 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] A graphic testimony to the embodiment of the Soviet Union's peaceloving policies lies in the movement, ever gaining in strength, for the cessation of nuclear tests. A public initiative on the part of the working people of the republic is joining this movement like a full flowing, constructive torrent. A meeting was held today in the conference hall of the Kazakh Union of Writers in Alma-Ata, at which a decision was made to organize the Nevada movement, for a halt to nuclear tests at the site in the region of Semipalatinsk. The name serves the purpose of receiving a positive reply in response from the population of the U.S. state of Nevada, where tests on nuclear devices are also carried out. The meeting adopted an appeal to governments and international organizations, which expresses the hope of quickly satisfying the aspirations of the broad masses of the people for a ban on testing nuclear weapons. An initiative group of the Nevada movement set up on the same day elected Suleymenov, the well-known Kazakh Soviet poet, as its chairman.

* Rumors of Radioactive Waste Transport Denied

18220059 Moscow TRUD in Russian 24 Mar 89 p 4

[Interview with B. A. Semenov, first deputy chairman of the State Committee for Utilization of Atomic Energy, by V. Ovcharov (Moscow)]

[Text] A harsh "radiation" of rumors and conjectures has rained down recently on the residents of Latvia, causing a fair amount of disturbance among them. After the Chernobyl tragedy any information associated with atomic energy is perceived especially painfully and keenly by the people. Especially the kind that was shared with the readers by the bulletin of the Latvian People's Front ATMODA ("Awakening") in the fifth issue for this year: Residents of the republic are threatened, they said, by a great danger, since radioactive wastes from abroad are being transported through Riga. They said there are even greater problems ahead because of their "possible burial in Latvia."

The bulletin "backed up" such serious statements, which were made in an article entitled "Elections, Candidates, and Their Concerns," with quotations from authoritative—as they emphasized—foreign publications. Also here was a photograph of the French ship Monde Lune which sank several years ago near Belgium carrying 225 tons of uranium hexafluoride (this is in the caption to the picture—V. O.). It is stated here that the cargo was the property of French and Belgian companies and was being shipped to the port of Riga "for processing"....

The information gleaned from the bulletin, one must admit, produces a strong impression. But where is the truth here, where is the incompetence, and where is the simple conjecture? In order to find answers to these questions a TASS correspondent went to the first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Utilization of Atomic Energy, B. A. Semenov.

[Semenov] The information published in the bulletin produces more of a strange than a strong impression on any specialist," said Boris Alekseyevich. "Incidentally, the 'key' in understanding it lies in the editorial comments. Its essence is incompetence. I shall begin with the fact that while they use 'atomic terminology' the authors of the commentary apparently do not fully understand its real significance. In one case they are 'radioactive substances' and in another 'radioactive wastes' that are supposed to be being sent to our country through the Riga port. But there is an immense difference between these two concepts.

The truth is that no radioactive wastes (RAO) or used fuel from foreign atomic electric power stations is being transported or ever has been transported through the territory of the Baltic republics. What actually is being shipped is natural and enriched uranium.

But what are we talking about? Beginning in 1973 under contracts with firms from Western countries we are granting them services for processing and enriching uranium for their atomic electric power stations. Under the conditions of the contract the foreign clients send to the USSR natural uranium in two forms—uranium concentrate and uranium hexafluoride. These substances are processed here in specialized plants and returned to the client in the form of enriched uranium hexafluoride. The purpose of the operation is to increase the content of the isotope uranium-235 in the initial product from 0.7 to 4-5 percent, "necessary" for AES's.

Indeed the points for transferring these cargoes are the ports of Riga and Leningrad, where they are transferred from ships to railroad cars and back. But the main thing is that the initial uranium in the form of uranium concentrate, that is, processed ore of natural origin, has low radioactivity and presents no radiation danger. It is transported in sealed metal barrels, which rules out the possibility of leakage of the product.

If one is to speak of natural uranium hexafluoride, it is shipped in solid form in thick-walled (15mm) containers made of a special alloy that are delivered by the foreign clients. The design of the containers was approved by competent agencies of the corresponding countries and meets all the requirements set by IAEA. In addition to checking them for sealing and complete accordance with the rules of IAEA, they are certified in the manufacturing countries. The permission certificates are issued for both design and transportation.

[Ovcharov] But still, how reliable are they?

[Semenov] During the past 15 years there has not been a single accident with the containers of natural or enriched uranium hexafluoride in our country. Incidentally, in Europe and the United States the volumes of shipments of these containers by rail, automotive, and water transportation exceed ours many times over, but there have been no accidents there either. And the case of the Monde Lune which sank, that was mentioned in the articles, again confirmed the reliability and the sealing of these containers: After they were raised up from a depth of several dozen meters where they had lain for several days there was no damage or leakage of the product.

[Ovcharov] What about the second version of the bulletin—about the possible burial of radioactive wastes in Latvia?

[Semenov] First of all let us straighten out the terminology here. What are radioactive wastes? In the first place there are wastes with low and average activity. These are various isotopes that are widely used in technology, science, medicine, and also the instruments, equipment, and clothing associated with their use and operational wastes from AES's.

Our country long ago developed a technology for reliable processing and burial of these wastes. This has already been written about many times in the press. I can say that on the territory of the Soviet Union there are about 35 regional stations for burying such radioactive wastes—Moscow, in the region of Zagorsk, near Leningrad, Sverdlovsk.... And practically every large city has one of these stations. There is also one near Riga, and I have in mind the Radon site. But operational wastes from AES's are processed and buried in the AES's themselves. In a word, the storage of these wastes is something that was arranged long ago and it is absolutely safe for the health of people and the environment.

The storage of nuclear fuel that can no longer be used and wastes from its processing presents a more serious problem. These are what the nonspecialists have in mind when they speak about radioactive wastes. Now there are several ways of burying these wastes with a high level of activity. One of the most promising and proven is to mix them in melted down or high melting glass, which is formed into cubes and buried deep in the ground in stable, water impermeable rock.

We have not yet begun extensive industrial processing of nuclear fuel, and for the time being the used fuel is kept either in storage facilities at the AES or in holding pools at the fuel processing installation. It is on the territory of a defense facility constructed at the end of the forties, and all the wastes that have been formed there are stored there even today. This is a long way from the territory of Latvia.

[Ovcharov] It is asserted with references to the Western press that this will possibly happen when a certain contract with the FRG is realized....

[Semenov] There is no contract that envisions the delivery of radioactive wastes or used foreign fuel from the FRG to the USSR. Therefore discussions of the idea that we are ready to accept West German "radioactive garbage" and store it on our territory have nothing to do with the truth.

[Ovcharov] And, finally, the last question raised by the bulletin. It reprinted information from the newspaper FINANCIAL TIMES, from which it follows that the raw material coming to us from Great Britain for enrichment might contain uranium mined in the RSA and Namibia. What do you have to say about that?

[Semenov] We strictly adhere to the decisions of the United Nations and demand that all foreign countries commit themselves to this. Each contract for the enrichment of ore contains a confirmation from our partners to the effect that it does not contain raw material delivered from the RSA or Namibia.

* Energy Official on Safety of Civilian Nuclear Fleet

18290125 Moscow VODNYY TRANSPORT in Russian 25 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview with A. M. Zhuravkov, chief of the laboratory for safety of nuclear powered ships of the I.V. Kurchatov Institute of Atomic Energy, by V. Uzelman; date, place of interview not specified; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] **Atomic energy is now at the center of attention. After the tragedy at the Chernobyl AES people lost confidence in it. People are now cautious about any atomic energy facility. Yet, the family of nuclear powered vessels is constantly growing. Four ice cutters are operated in the Murmansk shipping line—"Lenin," "Arktika," "Sibir," and "Rossiya" and the lighter "Sevmorput." Four more ships are on their way: the "Vaygach," "Taymyr," "Oktyabrskaya Revolyutsiya," and "Sovetskiy Soyuz." How safe are these ships with nuclear powerplants on board?**

[Uzelman] Aleksandr Mikhaylovich, after the tragedy at the Chernobyl AES the public had a negative attitude about the utilization of the atom for peaceful purposes, including the commercial fleet. A corroboration of this was the public protest in the Far East against the arrival of the nuclear powered lighter "Sevmorput". What is your estimate of this situation?

[Zhuravkov] Indeed, previously all questions related to the utilization of atomic energy interested only professionals. Now they are also disturbing the community at large. We have come to the conclusion that we must work more closely with the community so as not to make mistakes and to approach our work more diligently.

Recently a conference was conducted abroad devoted to problems of interaction with public opinion. A question was asked there: "What are we actually afraid of?" It turned out the majority were simply afraid of the word "radiation"; whenever it is mentioned people literally begin to "shake." This is caused by basic ignorance. After all, the food we eat is radioactive. We live in houses that are built from materials which also include radioactive elements. The Americans have begun to check on the level of radioactivity of buildings and have discovered that in certain buildings in which materials from unsuccessful mines were used the radiation dose is 10 BER (BER-biologically equivalent roentgen). This is a great deal as compared to the dose of professionals. They can receive 5 BER a year.

Radiation pursues man everywhere. Whether you are undergoing fluorography or watching a color television set. Take radon baths. Radiation is not alien to man, not something he has never encountered before. All this knowledge must be presented to the people, and then there will be no situations like the one that occurred in the Far East. The people must be told more about all the atomic energy facilities.

[Uzelman] Does this mean that there can be no debate about the expediency of nuclear powered ships?

[Zhuravkov] I do not wish to say that atomic energy should stamp out all other technologies. It has its own place where it is economical and justified. Let us take the installations on nuclear powered ships. They are fairly heavy since they are surrounded by biological protection so as to remove any effect of radiation on the personnel and the environment. So they make it necessary for the ships to have significant displacement. Therefore there is a place for them on ice breakers and cargo ships that travel over fairly long distances. How is atomic energy good for the fleet? It eliminates frequent fueling. And in the Arctic, as we know, it is difficult and costly to obtain fuel. Only nuclear powered ships provided for year-around navigation in the western sector of the Arctic. Small nuclear powered ice breakers like the Taymyr and Vaygach are now appearing, and they are needed for earlier opening of the mouth of the Yenisey when it is closed by ice.

[Uzelman] All this, of course, is true. But what if one looks at it from the standpoint of biological safety?

[Zhuravkov] The ecological influence of nuclear powered ships is practically nil. Let us take the first-born of the nuclear powered fleet—the ice breaker "Lenin." Anatoliy Petrovich Aleksandrov said that when the ice breaker crossed over the Baltic Sea after completing the mooring tests, it was followed by a cutter and helicopters from the NATO countries which took water and air samples. They found nothing because the biological protection was reliably planned. This, I repeat, was in the first installation in which operating experience was accumulated and certain defects were revealed, and subsequently they designed a significantly better installation which, with certain changes and modernization, is now found on all nuclear powered ships. It has proved itself very well.

In such installations in principle there is no leakage of the radioactive heat bearer into the biosphere since the first filter circuit is hermetically sealed. The biological protection is good, unlike, say, that of the Japanese nuclear powered vessel "Mutsu." The Japanese have had unsuccessful experience in constructing nuclear powered vessels—as soon as they began to bring the reactor up to capacity they received leakage of radiation through the biological protection and they practically refused to operate the ship and attached it to a tie post. Our levels of protection are such that actually the radiation backgrounds are several times lower than calculated.

Even if something is discharged into the atmosphere it is gas. To put it simply, the installation has neutron radiation and there can be air cavities, and in the air there is argon, which is activated by neutrons. This radioactive argon-41, whose half-life is a little more than an hour, can only be discharged into the atmosphere. But the discharges of it are very small and cannot even be compared with the discharges from an AES. Even the radiation technological control systems do not register it. A ll the ice cutters are equipped with the most modern control systems. There is a special control panel which registers the situation with respect to radiation factors from the standpoint of habitability and from the standpoint of technological things—how the reactor is working, whether it has leakage, whether the equipment is sealed. And there are just as many gauges to register the discharges from the main mast into the environment. I myself have looked at the indicators from these gauges on the control panel and they show nothing, although they are extremely sensitive. Therefore there can be no ecological pollution of the environment by nuclear powered ships.

[Uzelman] You say the external environment. But what about the people working on these ships? Is there no harm to their health? Has research been done on this?

[Zhuravkov] Research has been done. In particular, the Institute of Hygiene of Maritime Transportation in Leningrad exists for these purposes. Specialist have traveled on ice breakers frequently and for long periods and have measured all levels of radiation of personnel. In terms of radiation factors they found no deviations from the norm. At the Murmansk base of the ice breaker fleet they even installed a stationary gauge of human radiation. They measure the sailors when fuel transfer operations are in progress. The medical experts say that in terms of radiation norms the organism can contain certain nuclides. Their appearance is most probable during fuel transfer operations when the lid of the reactor is open and in principle there can be a probability of increased radiation—not from the reactor but from aerosols. When the lid is open and the filter is unsealed aerosols can appear. As a rule, none of the crew members experience internal radiation. I should add that the ice breakers have a well developed system of individual dosimetry.

[Uzelman] Incidentally, where were they transferring the fuel?

[Zhuravkov] Used fuel is transferred into special storage containers on the floating base which is located next to the ice breaker. It is kept for a certain amount of time in these containers and then transferred to portable containers, and after that it is sent to plants for processing and burial. In principle these procedures are no different from those that are followed at atomic electric power stations. Only there they create the storage facilities at the station while the ships have no storage facilities. While the ship is at sea it carries no used fuel.

[Uzelman] There was this information about the nuclear powered lighter Sevmorput: the norm of air leakage from the compartment where the nuclear reactor is located is only 3 percent. What kind of norm is this? And what are they for ice breakers?

[Zhuravkov] The lighter unlike the ice breaker is equipped with a system of a protective shell which has increased pressure in the event of the unsealing of the first filter circuit. What we are always afraid of is the leakage of the heat bearer outside the first filter circuit or outside the reactor in general. How is this dangerous? Nuclear reactors have one unpleasant feature—because of the physical conditions we cannot immediately turn off the reactor capacities. There are so-called residual heat emissions which must be taken away. If the fuel is overheated it will melt (which is what happened in the accident at the atomic electric station at Three Mile Island in Harrisburg in 1979) and the radioactive nuclei will inevitably escape from the fuel and with currents of hot air or, say, steam, they will travel beyond the biological protection. So they become more dangerous both for the personnel and for the environment because they have escaped from under the concrete, iron, and water, that is, from the protection.

So that is how it is with the leakage norm. With "Sevmorput" for the first time we have designed a protective shell that has more sealing. In tests it was "inflated" to increased pressure and they saw how much of the volume that was pumped into it leaked out during an hour. It turned out to be 3 percent. Ice breakers do not have such a highly sealed shell; they have what we might call a protective barrier. It too is metal and intended for high pressure, but it has a greater percentage of leakage than the "Sevmorput" does.

[Uzelman] Accidents in the maritime fleet have increased recently. Imagine what would have happened if the "Admiral Makhimov" which sank had been a nuclear powered ship. O n the whole is radiation safety guaranteed with all accidents of ships and powerplants?

[Zhuravkov] Generally speaking, nuclear powered ships are constructed according to the highest safety standard, which are prescribed to us by the USSR Register. It is mandatory to have design protection in the region where the reactor is housed. Even a direct blow to the region of the nuclear compartment will not damage the nuclear installation. Boris Georgiyevich Pologikh, one of the founders of the nuclear powered fleet, likes to give this example. When he was traveling on the "Lenin" the nuclear powered vessel ran up against a grounded ice hummock—a large underwater chunk of ice. Even after this blow the reactor did not stop, although the ice breaker did, as if it were rooted to the ground. So even if a ship hits the reactor compartment, the installation will not suffer.

[Uzelman] And if a nuclear powered ship sinks?

[Zhuravkov] An ice breaker or a lighter does not sink even if two compartments right next to one another are flooded. They will not go to the bottom as the "Admiral Makhimov" did.

[Uzelman] But let us say that the ship did sink....

[Zhuravkov] All right. We shall not rule out this possibility. We began to study that problem about 10 years ago. Then the Academician Krylov Central Scientific Research Institute in Leningrad became involved. It conducted research independently of us.

What would happen to, say, a lighter? Its protective shell is equipped with a flooding valve. When the ship sinks the valve is engaged and the shell fills with water. Then the reactor automatically stops because the regulation instruments go down by force of gravity since they do not need energy. That is the reactor will be choked off. And we examined the situation of sinking in both shallow and deep water. There is one difference.

In shallow water nothing should happen to the reactor because there are no forces that would cause it to become unsealed since in principle it is intended to withstand acceleration and blows. Since everything will be filled with water there will be a way for the heat to be discharged. That is the pressure in the first filter circuit cannot increase; it can only decline. And after that will begin the ordinary corrosion in sea water. But since the metals that are used are sufficiently corrosion resistant, this corrosion cannot be rapid and will continue over 10 years. In shallow water the ship can be retrieved. At least there is enough time for this.

[Uzelman] Well, what if the corrosion did its work anyway?...

[Zhuravkov] All right. Let us assume that after a certain amount of time the first filter circuit corroded through and there was access to the environment. But in order for the radioactive nuclei to make their way into the water they would have to get out of the first filtering circuit and out of the protection and out of the protective shell. This process is very difficult in terms of physics. Because if one considers only the diffusion processes , the radioactive nuclei will never escape; they will disintegrate there. In order for them to escape they must be pulled by some convection currents of water, some loops of circulation must be established so that something reaches the outside from there and the water from the outside enters into this area. That is, there must be an exchange of water all the time. This exchange, as we understand it, is very small to begin with.

Nonetheless we used conservative assumptions in our estimates: Let us say that suddenly there were large currents resulting from the tides. Even taking this coefficient of uncertainty into account we did not discover any danger to the environment even in the areas closest to the ship. As an example, one can refer to the American submarines "Treasure" and "Scorpion" which sank. Several years ago there was an announcement that our nuclear submarine had sunk. I was not closely involved in this affair, but samples were undoubtedly taken in the area where they sank. And since there were no articles either in the technical literature or in the press, they must not have discovered anything. Otherwise our "friends" would not have passed up this opportunity to trumpet the news throughout the world. This is an indirect confirmation of our estimates.

Or here is another confirmation. Until recently we have buried radioactive wastes from atomic production in the Atlantic Ocean. Containers filled with packaged wastes were deposited at a certain point. But if any radioactivity was observed in the Irish Sea it was only because the plant in Windscale poured its wastes through a 3-kilometer pipeline directly into the sea. I do not wish to say that they exceeded the permissible limits; no, what they discarded was permitted by medical experts. But nonetheless....

[Uzelman] Nuclear powered ships, like conventional ones, do not last forever. The time has now come to write off the ice breaker "Lenin." Has science worked out the problem, if one may put it this way, of salvaging ships with nuclear powerplants?

[Zhuravkov] It is not yet clear what is to be done with the ice breaker Lenin. Its service life has expired and it should be scrapped. But there is a plan to make it a museum—after all, it is a first. As concerns nuclear powered vessels, we have worked out this problem. Incidentally, they already have experience in this abroad—in the FRG they removed the nuclear powerplant from the nuclear powered vessel Otto Hann and re-equipped it for dry cargo. What is this procedure like? First of all they remove all the used fuel from the reactor because most of the radioactivity is still concentrated in the fuel. Then the body of the reactor along with the primary filtering circuit is cut off and placed in a special storage facility. And that is all. So the problem of salvaging these wastes can be considered technically solved.

[Uzelman] I wish to return once again to the conflict in the Far East related to the arrival of the "Sevmorput." Was there any reason for such a turn of events?

[Zhuravkov] None. I repeat, it is all a matter of the people's lack of information. With normal operation of the lighter, like all nuclear powered ice breakers, the purity of the environment is absolutely ensured. We are below all the medical and hygienic parameters. On our nuclear powered ships the maximum permissible concentrations have never even been reached, in terms of the external environment, of course.

The only thing we are afraid of is an accident. But here, you understand, there is an essential difference from atomic electric power stations. In the first place, the power of the installation on a ship is one-thirtieth that of the Chernobyl reactor. The second advantage is that it is located on a means of transportation. There are rules for nuclear powered ships, including foreign ones, to call in ports. When a nuclear powered vessel enters a port it must have a plan of emergency measures, be equipped with a remote anchorage, and have emergency equipment. And if the captain reports that he has on board an emergency situation with the energy installation, within an hour or two the ship is towed to its remote anchorage. As a rule, it is located several kilometers from the city and the source of the danger is taken away from the port personnel and from the city.

[Uzelman] And have there been emergencies on foreign ships?

[Zhuravkov] There have only been three of them—the "Otto Hann" (FRG), the "Mutsu" (Japan), and the "Savannah" (United States). On the "Mutsu" the biological protection was poorly designed. (In this respect our major designers are good and all of them are able to do this well.) And even in the process of the tests there was an accident. So it was sent to the tie post.

[Uzelman] And why was the "Otto Hann" re-equipped?

[Zhuravkov] They calculated that it was unprofitable for them. They removed the nuclear powerplant and installed an ordinary one that uses organic fuel.

[Uzelman] Incidentally, what about profitability....

[Zhuravkov] I have already said that the nuclear powered fleet is good in places where it is difficult to load fuel. Two or three years without refueling is a real advantage. Or recall 1984 when winter came early to the Arctic and a caravan of ships got stuck. Only the "Sibir" and "Arktika" were able to pull it out, and were it not for them it would simply have perished. This alone justifies the construction of powerful ice breakers. And if the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet under the conditions of cost accounting orders a nuclear powered fleet, I do not think it stands to lose anything.

[Uzelman] The accident at Chernobyl occurred as a result of a mistake made by service personnel. This could happen in the fleet: Somebody did not completely inspect something, mixed something up, and...

[Zhuravkov] Have we come to the point of making a comparison with Chernobyl? One must say that a great deal depends on personnel. Before the accident in 1979 at Three Mile Island the Americans did not devote enough attention to the human factor either, but after it they revised the role of the operator since it was the operators who caused the accident with the reactor. In essence Chernobyl and Three Mile Island are the same kind of accidents; only the consequences were different. There everything was kept within the protective shell, and here, because we did not have a protective shell for the RBMK reactors, the radioactive nuclei spread over a fairly large area.

So the Americans began to study the man-machine interaction. They began to revise the composition of the panels so that the information was given to the operator not in generalized form but in detail, and only that which he needed at the particular time. Modern panels require very high qualifications in order, against the background of all these lights and connecting wires, to understand the situation even though there are warning signals: they either burn with a red light or else they flash. But when a person constantly looks at it... Here is the simplest example. On a ship there were containers of drinking water through which the water of the second filtering circuit passed. A device to register the level was installed there and when the ice breaker went into a roll the signal on the panel that the water level had dropped frequently lit up because the water was moving all the time. Naturally, a person becomes accustomed to this. This is just an example of the fact that constant, continuous information makes the operator tired and he stops perceiving it.

We have not taken up the problem of operators as well.

You ask, can an operator bring things to the point of Chernobyl. He is not capable of this. He can halt the plant and turn off the reactor when power is needed. But he cannot break the reactor apart—this is what happened in Chernobyl. This has been precluded. Theoretically he can break the parts that regulate the capacities from above, however high, but the negative feedback makes it impossible to break the reactor apart. To put it more simply, because of the physics of the reactor the operator does not have this kind of control over it. Herein lies the fundamental difference between ship plants and RBMK's.

We have now begun to study attentively how an operator can put a a plant out of order deliberately because deliberate actions are precisely what are needed here. According to our first estimates, he cannot cause any catastrophic consequences.

[Uzelman] What can you say about the effectiveness of supervision of the operation of nuclear powered ships and the quality of their operation?

[Zhuravkov] Supervision is now actually provided by two agencies—the USSR Register and the Gosatomenergonadzor. The Register keeps track of the technical side and the Gosatomenergonadzor—the people, the organization of nuclear safety, and the technical equipment, which can be directly related to safety issues. The USSR Ministry of the Shipbuilding Industry has its own inspection team which also checks on nuclear safety. Still it seems to me that there should be a unified supervisory agency which should be under the state and whose decisions would be final.

At the beginning of 1987 I participated in the work of a representative commission of the CPSU Central Committee which analyzed the condition of safety in the nuclear powered fleet. We became familiar with the organization of work at the service base in Murmansk and inspected the documentation. Members of the commission visited practically all of the ice breakers that were participating in the navigation at the time. There were some remarks, of course, but on the whole we came to the conclusion that the fleet was operating fairly well. And it was especially emphasized that the cadres formed in the nuclear powered fleet have very high qualifications. Only one concern was expressed: that they be replaced with personnel with the same qualifications.

[Uzelman] Where are personnel trained for nuclear powered ships?

[Zhuravkov] In our technical institutes—MIFI, MEI, and Bauman MVTU, and also the OVIMU, NVIMU, and LVIMU. Then they go through training at the Leningrad Admiral S.O. Makarov Higher Engineering Naval School. Then they have on-the-job training on a nuclear powered ship. And only after that can they work independently.

[Uzelman] Is work being done to improve nuclear powerplants for the fleet?

[Zhuravkov] Today's plant has proved itself well in operation and all the engineering solutions are intelligent ones. But scientists are undoubtedly thinking about creating more powerful and safer plants. Such work is being done. Since the Chernobyl tragedy the cornerstone has been questions of safety even at the expense of economizing.

[Uzelman] Aleksandr Mikhaylovich, in conclusion could you comment on a question that does not pertain to the fleet but bothers everyone, I think. I have in mind the announcement that Sweden has made a decision to develop atomic energy.

[Zhuravkov] Indeed, in Sweden they did hold a referendum regarding the fate of atomic energy. The people voted for closing down all atomic electric power stations by the year 2020. Although the country is continuing to work on the concept of a safe reactor. What next? They need an alternative variant. Swedish scientists have conducted a review of the country's resources: hydraulic, wind, solar energy, and they have also considered the possibilities of importing it. They came to the conclusion that all of these sources could cover only one-fifth of a percent. The rest could be replaced only by coal. (We might also have gas. But still organic fuel, in my opinion, should be used in chemical productions; it is barbarous to burn gas in the furnaces of electric power stations.)

The Swedes do not like electric power stations that burn coal either because of the soot and ash and they do not want to spoil their natural environment with wastes. The way I understand it, the question has not been finally resolved. The scientists will inform the people of their conclusions and public opinion will decide: will there be atomic energy or coal. One must say that in Swedes they have done a lot of work on the problem of long-term burial of radioactive wastes—I have in mind used fuel. In my opinion it is not clear what all will happen in Sweden.

Today we have touched on only one aspect of the safety of the nuclear powered fleet—the standpoint of design. In future articles we shall try to discuss in greater detail the quality of the operation of ships with nuclear power plants.

Legal Policy Commission Sits 13 Mar

PM1503143189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Session of CPSU Central Committee Commission on Questions of Legal Policy"]

[Text] A session of the CPSU Central Committee Commission on Questions of Legal Policy was held 13 March under the chairmanship of V.M. Chebrikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The main avenues of the commission's activity in the immediate future and its longer-term tasks of fulfilling the political directives of the 27th party congress and the 19th all-union party conference in the sphere of building a socialist rule-of-law state, implementing the judicial and legal reform, enhancing the role of party organizations and the activeness of law enforcement organs in strengthening legality and order in the country, and stepping up the struggle against lawbreaking were examined.

Within the framework of the political and economic reform the commission's work is focused on studying problems and preparing corresponding proposals to put to the CPSU Central Committee on the questions of renewing existing legislation. Active involvement is planned in the elaboration of the political concepts behind the draft laws that are under preparation in connection with the implementation of subsequent stages of the reform of the political system.

Particular attention should be devoted to elaborating the problems of legal backup for citizens' political, socioeconomic, and personal rights and freedoms. It was stressed that freedom of criticism, speech, the press, meetings, and rallies is undoubtedly a substantive factor with a positive impact on involving the masses in restructuring processes. At the same time, one cannot ignore the fact that in a number of cases glasnost is used by various extremists to harm society. For this reason a law should operate in this area too. In this respect it was deemed necessary to accelerate the preparation and examination under the established procedure of laws on the press, voluntary societies, unofficial [samodeyatelnyy] public associations, young people, freedom of conscience, and other legislation guaranteeing constitutional rights and freedoms and at the same time protecting society's interests.

The questions of providing real safeguards for citizens' rights require new approaches. To this end the commission intends to make a study of, and give its recommendations on, the observance of citizens' rights in the light of international treaties and conventions on humanitarian problems to which the Soviet Union is a party. Moreover, it is planned to examine proposals on revising criminal, procedural, and corrective labor legislation, as well as legislation regulating movements of citizens [grazhdanskiy oborot], and working people's labor, housing, pension, and other rights.

It was stressed during the session that laws, as acts of supreme state power, should be the basis for law and order. The safeguarding of the supremacy of the law and the unswerving observance of it by all officials and citizens are therefore of fundamental importance.

The commission is designed to help the CPSU Central Committee to implement its right of legislative initiative, to state its ideas on priorities in legislative work, and to make proposals on the immediate adoption of certain laws depending on the prevailing circumstances.

Particular attention should be devoted to questions of radically improving the population's legal education and enhancing legal standards in the activities of state and social organizations and leaders at all levels. Hence the task of radically improving the training of legal cadres, particularly those engaged in implementing the law by dint of their profession or official duty.

Questions linked with improving the work of the Soviet state's entire legal mechanism were examined. The need to sharply improve the prestige and independence of Soviet justice and restructure the forms and methods of the activities of prosecutor's office organs in strengthening legality and protecting the rights of the individual and the interests of state and public organizations was noted. It is necessary to resolutely improve the work of internal affairs organs in putting a stop to crime. Measures to improve the role of the Soviet bar and legal services in the national economy were discussed, along with the question of the role of the Union of Soviet Lawyers that is being created in strengthening the legal foundations of state and social life.

It was stressed that restructuring, stimulating the development of democracy and glasnost, is impossible without strengthening legality, order, and organization. The forces of all party, social, and state organizations and the entire population must be mobilized to achieve these goals.

Certain problems of legal safeguards for the everyday life and activity of the Armed Forces were examined. It was noted that particular attention should be devoted to strengthening military discipline in the Army and Navy and to eradicating cases of nonregulation mutual relations and the infringement of servicemen's rights. This should be promoted by the improvement of the entire range of military legislation. Attention was devoted to the need to safeguard the social rights of servicemen discharged into the reserve.

The commission discussed in detail questions linked with the preparations for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on improving interethnic relations in the USSR. The concept put forward by the working group for legal regulation of interethnic relations and the drawing up of acts on this question were examined. The commission will focus on coordinating comprehensive research, developing a legal mechanism for improving ethnic relations, and elaborating recommendations to provide for a common approach by party, state, and social organizations to the problems of interethnic relations based on a combination of the international and national interests of all nations and ethnic groups in Soviet society and the surmounting of all manifestations of national egoism and nationalism.

A wide range of problems relating to the improvement of the USSR's national-state makeup will be examined. Measures to draw up legislation in connection with changes and amendments to the USSR Constitution aimed at more clearly differentiating the powers of the USSR and the republics and expanding union republics' rights in the political and socioeconomic spheres are planned.

It is planned to draw up laws on the protection of Soviet citizens' national and cultural rights, draft laws on the free development and equal use of the languages of the peoples of the USSR, and on other issues. Attention was devoted to the need to promote the shaping of a political approach to the elaboration of legislation in the union and autonomous republics, particularly on fundamental questions concerning the interests of the entire federation.

It was stressed that all this work should promote in every possible way the strengthening of the international unity and friendship of all Soviet peoples and the consolidation on this basis of our socialist multinational state.

A report was delivered by A.S. Pavlov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee State-Law Department, on the structure and functions of this department, which was set up to replace the former CPSU Central Committee Administrative Organs Department.

The session was addressed by: V.P. Mysnichenko, first secretary of Kharkov Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom; V.I. Terebilov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court; V.V. Bakatin, USSR minister of internal affairs; A.A. Khomyakov, first secretary of Saratov CPSU Obkom; A.-M.K. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee; Ye.M. Chekharin, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; A.N. Girenko, first secretary of Crimean Ukrainian Communist Party Oblast; A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; B.V. Kravtsov, USSR minister of justice; and F.D. Bobkov, first deputy chairman of the USSR KGB.

* Academics Assess Current Role of CPSU

18000618 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 4 Mar 89 p 4

[V. Tsybulskiy write-up of a discussion between Vyacheslav Shostakovskiy, rector of the Moscow Higher Party School, and Vyacheslav Maslennikov, chief of the department of Soviet state development and law at the Moscow Higher Party School: "The Party, Restructuring and the Law"]

[Text] [Maslennikov] First, on the need to build a legal state. Our state was created as the result of violent social revolution as a state of a dictatorship of the proletariat. It was based on a real political force—armed workers and peasants led by the Bolsheviks.

For the first 5 years following the revolution we were a state of proletarian legality in which the source of law was a revolutionary sense of justice. It was at that time that the idea of law that was outdated was also asserted in the consciousness of many of our leaders. They did not take the law seriously. The sole function of the law that was nevertheless adopted by the party leadership and the new society was law as a social regulator of the measure of labor and of consumption.

When, however, power passed into the hands of Stalin and his entourage, then the law as control over the measure of labor and of consumption, derived from earlier ideas, simply degenerated into cruel regulation. Everything was regulated from above—what to do, who should do it, according to what criteria, who should be paid, and how much. The transition to the command system completed the transformation of ideas about the law as a legally recognized measure of freedom.

[Shostakovskiy] I think that we must start this conversation about the party in a legal state with Lenin's understanding of the party and the understanding of the party by Stalin and the Stalinists.

Lenin understood the party as the vanguard of the people and for him this definition was filled with profound meaning. The vanguard lays out the strategic course, relying on the theory and on analysis of social phenomena. It is obliged to convince the people that this course is correct and to act on the basis of the trust of the masses.

It is said that Stalin did not have his own concept of the party. Nevertheless, there is a whole range of dictums, including the one that became the stereotype definition of the party as the "order of sword bearers." But there is another thought of Stalin that goes along with this well-known one, namely, that the party is the command staff and headquarters of the proletariat that guides all forms of struggle by the proletariat on all sectors of the struggle without exception, and unites the diverse forms of struggle into a single whole. I think that this understanding of the party as a command staff and headquarters was realized in practice, and that it was the basis of the party activity that led to the serious contradictions with the requirements of a legal state.

And what did the organizational realization of the thesis that the party is the headquarters and command staff mean over the long term? Growing secrecy and no feedback. For to work on trust means also to be oriented on the mood of the masses and to shape policy on the basis of people's interests. But under conditions in which the party is seen as a headquarters and command staff none of this is necessary. The headquarters has its own view on what is happening and it develops a strategy for action and has little interest in how that strategy is perceived in the troops. These principles set down deep roots in the structure and methods of party work and created unpractical hothouse conditions for it. The tactical and strategic steps of the party were declared and perceived as simply proper and correct. We talked a great deal about the fact that the party fights. But it was unclear, with any general unanimity, against whom it should fight. The hothouse conditions that the party created for itself led to loss of a whole series of mechanisms and features inherent in political organization under conditions of real political struggle.

Constant readiness for discussion, openness to criticism and the ability for constructive dialogue—all these features of party political organization were gradually lost, and they cannot now be re-acquired without effort. But in Lenin's period all this was the basis and system for party work. With the loss of these features the habit of command as a work method became deeper. But it was not the method of political organization and is suitable only for certain state institutions.

[Maslennikov] Now, the stereotypes left to us by that state, with its democratic facade and illegal foundation. My audiences, particularly the older generation, often ask: What do you mean when you talk about a legal state? For we enjoy the right to labor, to leisure, to education, to social insurance in our old age. How do you mean that this is an illegal state? I enjoy the same rights granted to me under the Stalin Constitution.

In fact, at that time the level of social protection for citizens was higher than previously. But, of course, this was for those citizens who remained at freedom. If you were loyal to the authorities and did what you were told, and managed to avoided the latest preventive "purge," then you were guaranteed a certain social protection. And these ideas were firmly established in the tradition and consciousness of the people. And now, when when we have turned to discussion of the dependence of the level of social protection on the attitude toward labor and to what one does to improve one's life, it is essential to be not an obedient executor, waiting passively for favors from the state, but yourself think and work, that is, meeting with the liveliest kind of opposition. People have grown accustomed to having the state be their father and benefactor. The boundary line between the legal and illegal state passes here, somewhere at the level of the mass consciousness. The illegal state is perceived as the "paternal" state. The state as a strict but just patriarch and the people as playful but loving children. The patriarch puts an end to the pranks but also gives honey cakes for obedience.

But the legal state is first and foremost a society of free people whose relations with the state are built on the principles of mutual responsibility.

[Shostakovskiy] Not the individual for the state but the state for the individual. But we lack respect for the individual and his talent and individuality and this is precisely because of the ideas about good and justice as the result of almost coercive leveling. Equal in both the material and spiritual senses despite different abilities. You may be poor but to make up for this you have the proper ideas. All these attitudes and ideas existed in some part of society and the party, and still do exist to this very day. And during the period when our state was being established the social foundation was very favorable for this. It also served as a bulwark for deformation of the understanding of the law from a social regulator to a barracks regulator. That this stood in proximity to the democratic facade was no paradox here but rather a law-governed pattern. To hide, to give the appearance of legality and democracy and sense of nationality to everything that happened—this was the basis of party ideology for many years. Individual functionaries display similar approaches to this day.

[Maslennikov] But let us try to define the attributes of the legal state. The first is the extension of a constitution and laws to cover all public and political institutions, including the ruling party. Our party is strong enough to lead society and direct society on the basis of law. It is simply essential that our party leaders at the local level recognize this. They must understand that they are strong enough to exercise political leadership using civilized means, free from randomness, arbitrary rule and voluntarism, and by means that restrict their power in the choice of particular ways to achieve results.

Second. Recognition that the point of departure for legal regulation in a legal state is the individual. Recognition of the worth of the individual as something of value for the socialist state. In an illegal state—an authoritarian, totalitarian, or theocratic state—the point of departure is the rights not of the individual but other values. A political goal, political advantage, an economic idea. And then the primary cells of legal regulation become the "masses" and the "authorities" rather than the individual. This is the basic factor that we have still not fully recognized.

The third attribute of the legal state is the special role of the courts in resolving all disputes. The legal state is a state in which both the legislative and executive authorities, and any citizen, no matter who he may be, recognizes himself to be under the control of the courts.

And last. The legal state is typified by self-limitation of citizens and their recognition of the priority of the law and the need to live and act so as not to cause harm to the interests of other citizens.

These are the four points that circumscribe the square of the legal state. They are not all described to an equal degree or with the same clarity in our society. Therefore, the theme of our conversation today—the party under the conditions of the legal state—is still only a projection of the future.

[Shostakovskiy] The legal state is oriented on the individual. Our party was created as an alliance of like-thinkers, on the basis of respect for the individuality of the party member, and this was also reflected in the norms of equality, regardless of party seniority, education, duties and so forth. That was the nature of the Communist Party.

As it became a headquarters and command force the party moved away from the Leninist norms of party life. We must revive then, first and foremost, the principle of respect for the individual and the worth of a Communist within the party. But this task also assumes changes within the party itself, including a return to the Leninist understanding of the role of the minority in the party. Even in the most complicated periods in the life of the party Lenin always left the minority certain rights, including the right to expression and extensive airing of its own viewpoint. The right of the minority was fixed in the party rules, at any event those adopted in Lenin's time, but somehow or other they were circumscribed. Including the right to express one's own viewpoint after a decision has been reached. And after the 10th Party

Congress, at which there was a struggle for party unity, at Lenin's insistence a discussion sheet was circulated which organizationally underpinned the right of the minority to its own viewpoint.

The boundary line between a faction was clearly drawn as a group of people in the party claiming their own rules, their own discipline, and the position of people having their own views on the methods used to reach adopted program goals. For the party under the conditions of the legal state, when it must be an example of democratic organization, this is exceptionally important. We must have a very clear idea of how far in practice party work has moved away from the ideas about the party in a legal state. Otherwise we shall not understand why the ideas of the latest party plenums are having so much difficulty taking root in the party.

For example, in cadre policy.... Even the understanding of the party schedule [nomenklatura] was altered. To deprive the party of the right to exert any significant influence on the processes of cadre placement means to deprive it of the opportunity to follow its political line. It is a question of the methods that the party will use to exert this influence.

What is the party schedule? Essentially it is merely a list of posts and duties that are important in politics and economics, both at the center and at the local level. And any party, and even more a party that is working on a progressive policy and fighting for changes that the people support, simply must concern itself to insure that competent and progressive people who enjoy authority among the labor collectives occupy those posts. That is all there is to it. And there just should not be any other kind of party schedule.

But what happened? The party schedule became a list of people who could be released, appointed or moved only with the agreement of the party committee. And this is a violation of the Leninist principle of the party as the vanguard and its transformation into the principle of party work as a headquarters and command staff. And it is also an example of how action on the basis of a mandate of trust and political authority can be replaced by action based on orders and perversion of the law. This is the practice of party work that has taken shape under the conditions of an illegal state.

[Maslennikov] From the viewpoint of the jurist, questions of party cadre policy do not present any special complexity. All that is needed is consistent implementation of legal standards and directions from the party itself.

In their Constitution the Soviet people have underpinned the principle of equality of citizens regardless of their origin, social and property status, nature of occupation, place of residence, and other circumstances. True, party-mindedness is not specially stipulated here. It is found among those "other circumstances." But article 34 of the Constitution provides full justification for any person occupying any post.

Second, the USSR is a state that is a signatory to an International Declaration on human civil and political rights. One of the provisions of that declaration is that the right to employment in state posts is free and equal for all citizens. And observance of this requirement is one of the conditions for the existence of a legal state. For a legal state is a state in which the organs of power are formed by free elections.

Without violating all these laws, the party may influence the formation of the organs of power only through party and political methods. And here the field for party activity is enormous. Any political party by its very nature is intended to select and train people capable of being political leaders and state figures. The party must weigh ten times over, a hundred times over, who to promote to any particular post, and it must look more closely than the state organs or the voters at the qualities of a nominee so as to avoid defeat. And the final word rests with the voters, with the labor collective, and with some particular state institution or department. For it is possible to select a candidate who is remarkable in all aspects but the voters may still reject him. Which, incidentally, is what we are observing during the course of the present election campaign. And only the party committee itself will be to blame in the event of the failure of a candidate who is supported by the party committee.

Of course, the ruling party cannot be a monopolist here. Other public organizations may also nominate their own candidates for various posts. But this does not change the task for the party. For it, the task of selecting cadres remains its chief task.

[Shostakovskiy] I recall how Lenin viewed the dialectic of democratism and one-man command. "The more decisively we must now stand for a mercilessly firm power and for the dictatorship of individual persons for particular process in work, and at certain moments purely executive functions, the more varied should be the forms and methods of control from below so as to paralyze any shadow of possibility that Soviet power would be perverted or that the weeds of bureaucratism would again tirelessly break through."

And here we have the dissemination of the understanding of one-man command taken very broadly and unambiguously with total absence of control from below. And exercise of this control from below is one of the most important political tasks for the party today. Moreover, we have an interest in how the political organization plays its integrating role in society, so that the party candidate can pass muster in the repeated checks from below, including through the machinery of the vote in the labor collective, during the elections, and in competitions at any particular institution. And in not counterposing work to select cadres for party committees to the process of election in the labor collective, and not seeing the labor collectives as opponents that may disrupt our entire cadre policy; in the process of democratization it is precisely that stereotype that has been shaped in the consciousness of some party workers. But to consider the question of election as an integral and most important part of all party cadre policy: This is the solution to this imaginary contradiction.

[Maslennikov] I think that restoration of the authority of the party as a political organization and recognition of its right to engage in matters that lie within its competence is possible on condition that the party reject the exercise of functions not belonging to it. What I have in mind is delineating the spheres of party, political and state functions.

The 19th party conference set the task of delineating the functions of the party as the political vanguard of society and the state, and as the organization and instrument of popular power. This gives grounds for saying, for example, that only state organizations can dispose of property on the basis of authoritative powers. The party cannot do this. And this is the new thing that is difficult to grasp in the party. Why? Because, as before, party workers bear the responsibility for everything that happens in economic development in the country, oblast, city or rayon. This means that the next step must be taken, namely, releasing them from this obligation, while at the same time not releasing them from, but perhaps even making stricter demands on them for political miscalculations, including in cadre matters, for example.

As has been shown in the accountability-and-election campaign in the party, when at a number of oblast conferences economic issues still dominated, the process of transferring functions from party committees to economic organs is moving very slowly. Why? It is a risk. It is frightening to abandon a system that has been functioning for decades and, even though it brought us to the edge of crisis, it did somehow manage to work. And now that we are slackening the reins, what will happen? And how will we respond in the event of failure? The complexity of the problem also lies in the fact that there is not always someone to whom this function can be passed.

[Shostakovskiy] Of course, the party will not stand on the sidelines away from the problems of the economy and its results, but it ought only to be involved in how implementation of its economic policy is proceeding, how the party organizations are acting in this, and how party forces are deployed. And this is considerably more complicated than simply issuing a command—when to start the sowing or harvesting, how much fertilizer should be applied, and so forth. It is a process that also demands other knowledge and other approaches, and courage, and self-control.

[Maslennikov] Because if one has started to move and taken the first step on a road crossing, then go on! The car will not wait, the engine will be switched on and you will be run down. But we are sometimes showing indecisiveness and inconsistency here—even the latest decision of the Council of Ministers, seemingly progressive, on price controls. It is, we understand, essential, but it is a return to the old administrative methods for regulating economic processes. It is similar to the methods used to deal with drunkenness and unearned incomes.

These are all examples of inconsistency in economic policy. On the one hand we want to introduce a market for the means of production, raw materials and labor, while on the other, because of misgivings that everything is so bad and that the reforms that have been initiated will create new problems, we are taking a step backward. This indecisiveness in our movement is a political problem and it requires a political solution. The party should still assume responsibility for saying that we must go on. Yes, it will be a risky step. But we cannot not go on. For if we stand still nothing will improve. We must take the risk. But politics is always a risk. Movement is associated with a deterioration in the economic situation, but to halt it right at the start means to fail utterly, without any hope of improvement. This thought has been insistently and firmly repeated by M.S. Gorbachev in his recent meetings with workers in the Ukraine.

The USSR Congress of People's Deputies has been granted the exclusive right to determine the country's domestic and foreign policies, and this means that from the moment it is first convened it is this congress that should also exclusively decide such matters. The congress must decide whether it will support the reforms initiated by the party, with all the difficulties and problems that have been charted along that road. If it does, then it assumes responsibility for the consequences of that decision and for possible failures, but it will guarantee consistency in the organs of power in their decisions and measures.

[Shostakovskiy] The party is working out and suggesting policy directions and seeking support for this in the Congress of People's Deputies. But the ultimate decision and responsibility rest with the highest organ of people's power.

[Maslennikov] And the electors and labor collectives voting for the candidates must understand that their people's deputy will now be making decisions that will directly affect their further life. And all those who are today campaigning for a candidate because he knows how to repair a roof, or dances well, or leads a kolkhoz, should understand very clearly that he will not be mending roofs or dancing in the Congress of Deputies or in the Supreme Soviet, but making decisions. In particular, things with not very pleasant consequences will include price reform, the further development of market mechanisms in the economy and so forth. And it will be necessary to reassure the deputy and support him if particular measures adopted by the Congress of the Supreme Soviet do not yield immediate results.

And there is the quality of the party ranks. It can be improved only by giving the opportunity to those who feel themselves incapable of meeting party demands to decide for themselves whether or not they should continue. The party is a social organization. A social organization is built on the principle of voluntary membership. Voluntary membership is possible only on condition of free resignation. The official guarantees here are also obvious: there should be no sanctions for resignation from the party since a person is exercising his right of withdrawal.

[Shostakovskiy] Free withdrawal from the party was practiced here in the twenties.

With regard to the criteria themselves—whether a party member is active or inactive—consideration of this has only just started. Because for many years by activity we have understood just one thing, namely, taking on more, going further, distinguishing oneself at the work place, being active all the time. Go into any organization you like and you will find that most people simply represent it poorly in terms of what today should be expressed as political activity. A Communist must determine his position and how to show that position vis-a-vis particular decision or steps taken by the party, and he must engage in discussion in the party on how to do it. This is not some kind of habit. The political muscle has atrophied in many people. Including particular people in the party. They can be honorable and devoted to ideals but do not know how to fight for them in their everyday lives. Time is needed to involve the party masses politically in the processes that have already started and are under way.

So that all of us Communists must still learn how to find our place in real policy, in a state where the priority of law and right is being established. And today, and even more tomorrow, restructuring will offer unlimited opportunities for this.

Journalists Discuss Restructuring, Glasnost

PM1603161189 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 10 (Signed to Press 5 Mar 89) p 12

[Unattributed report on meeting of MOSCOW NEWS staff: "Our Times"]

[Text] This was the theme of a meeting at the Film Makers Club with members of MOSCOW NEWS staff and its contributors. Speakers included MOSCOW NEWS Editor-in-Chief Ye. Yakovlev, A. Gelman, N. Belyayeva, A. Bovin, A. Voznesenskiy, M. Poltoranin, L. Karpinskiy, R. Sagdeyev.

Lenin used to say that the newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and agitator, but also a collective organizer. He said this long ago, but today we are again living in revolutionary times and this definition of the press is making a comeback when society, having awoken, is eagerly looking for ways to self-identity, for answers to topical questions, for brilliant leaders and new approaches. This meeting was prompted by the need for face-to-face contact with our readers to see if we are really what we think we are in their minds, if they trust us and if we raise precisely those issues which our readers really take to heart. The most important thng we wanted to know was what kind of questions our readers were going to ask us, and why.

Since the number of MOSCOW NEWS readers is too great for the conference hall at the Film Makers Club to hold everyone, we offer you the highlights of the meeting.

Our original well-prepared plans to avoid discussion of recent Soviet history and to focus instead on "future plans" came to nothing. Indeed, both the present and the future are a result of yesterday's problems and tragedies, and there is no avoiding them or brushing them aside. So we sat there face to face with our readers. It was a test of frankness, mutual trust and the truth.

[Question] I think we all are pretending. The party is constantly either doing evil or making excuses. And we are supposed to be happy that it is correcting its mistakes...Communists should either step aside or move over at the helm of power. They have no moral right to rule the state!

Len Karpinskiy: Questions can be as direct as this. And they have to be answered. This is an expression of a certain position. So, in return, I have to present my own. It is true that history does not forgive mistakes. They affect people's lives. Such mistakes cannot be corrected by repentance. For this reason, as it expands and deepens self-criticism concerning the past, the party quite rightly has focussed on, let's say, "constructive repentance". The party is trying to reform our political system and to democratize its own operation. This includes, among other things, what the person who sent this note calls "to move over", that is, to share its power. Like any individual, the party should have a chance to reform itself.

The most important thing here, I think, is the strict separation of functions between party organizations and soviets, between those who are in charge of the economy and culture and public organizations.

As is known, some far-sighted party leaders have already done this, not just in Hungary and Poland, but in our own country, say, in the Baltic republics and in a number of other regions. Curiously, nothing awful has happened as a result.

The role of the party in our society today is well-nigh the most topical question raised by the party. As long as the party feels a need to restructure itself, quite naturally society, too, is looking for constructive ways to improve the political leadership. Even if such questions may sound naive, they do not signal "danger", but a desire to get involved in the political process.

The current election campaign is the highlight of political life. We are in for real elections which have started an unprecedented political activity and genuine interest in the nominees.

[Question] Boris Yeltsin's name is frequently mentioned during the campaign. Could you tell us more about him?

Mikhail Poltoranin: I was fortunate of late to travel much around the country and visit its most remote corners. And I have been asked similar questions in many places. When Boris Yeltsin handed in his resignation some people were amazed and disillusioned. But one year on there is, as it were, a "renaissance" of the attitude toward him. People prize in him the qualities so dreaded by bureaucrats: determination, persistence and consistency. When I worked for MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA with Yeltsin as Moscow party organization head, I had a chance to see that he had all these qualities. Yeltsin firmly believes that glasnost in certain doses is nonsense. He never brought party pressure to bear, he fully trusted the newspaper which made us more responsible, demanding more of ourselves.

The election campaign has revealed among other things that the anti-bureaucracy campaign has entered a decisive stage. On a number of occasions we could see that bureaucrats are so powerful and adaptable that many people have started to doubt the final outcome of this battle.

[Question] What do you think might happen in the country if perestroyka falters? Could there be a return to the 1930s? Wouldn't this mean something like a civil war? Terror, genocide?

Aleksandr Gelman: I'm not sure about a war, and a terror on the scale of the 1930s is also hardly possible. But why try to guess or predict, why try to make up what might happen and paint pictures of doom? I think everyone should decide for himself what he is going to do if perestroyka flops and bureaucracy triumphs. As for me, I'll quit the party right away, because the party that started perestroyka is responsible for the result. I will look for and use any legal means of opposition.

[Question] Judging by the experience of the election campaign, poorly organized, isolated and weak pressure groups are often confronted by a smooth-running party machinery. Should these groups form, say, a socialist party, to "counter-balance" the force? Isn't it time to make the green party legal? It would exceed CPSU membership, judging by the number of people wanting to work in it. Who should give permission to form a new party and is such a permission needed at all?

Nina Belyayeva: In choosing ways of consolidating public forces, one should remember that any party, with membership dues, accounting and control, party discipline, a mechanism for implementing decisions and an organizational hierarchy inevitably requires a vast management apparatus. If you add to that the function of "ideological rivalry" in conditions of competing parties, this apparatus should be even larger and more expensive to maintain. The possibility to pick and choose from among many parties does not automatically result in a more democratic system. Noisy election campaigns are political theatre rather than real power of the people. In our conditions, a more effective way to consolidate public forces would not be another party but popular movements which bring people together on the basis of the shared idea, a shared platform whose realization is undertaken in localities by pressure groups. Their unity does not hinge on strict discipline but on how attractive their programmes are. Functioning on these lines are, for example, many centres of public initiatives around the country.

The meeting also dealt with the level of glasnost. Glasnost is the air of perestroyka and makes the time we live in what it is. We don't want to waste it and we should have guarantees that this air is not cut off tomorrow.

[Question] At what stage are we with the drafting of the law on the press? What are we to expect after the draft is made law?

Aleksandr Bovin: What we don't want is another long-winded, political propaganda and "sloganeering" document. A law on the press (on the media, on glasnost—it makes no difference) should contain a clearcut and juridically competent enumeration of rights, duties and rules. Most important: the right to freely express one's views, to freely available information, the right to write (and speak) about things of interest to people. Sensible restrictions? By all means. But only those based on the "interests of socialism," because these interests may mean different things to different people. Thus, the law should list clearly exhaustively and unequivocally and those things which "can't be done." All the rest can be done.

[Question] Have you the impression that, in the present situation (political), newspapers should write the whole truth or nothing at all, even if this means stopping the presses? Journalists can also go on strike.

Yegor Yakovlev: In the final analysis, everyone is free to act according to his or her convictions. MOSCOW NEWS wrote about one newspaper in Siberia whose journalists, enraged by dictates, refused to produce a scheduled issue. Yet still I think the most important thing is just the opposite: being able to use the opportunities opened up for the press in this time of perestroyka. Our journalistic and political competence is more often than not far from perfect, if just because you can't go to bed dumb and wake up able to talk. "To write the whole truth" isn't simple, more important, you have at least to realize what it means. I don't think I'm mistaken when I say that many journalists, or even whole publications, sometimes claim some things as the truth, while they are rejected by a forward-looking section of society today, or were even rejected one hundred years ago. So what we should do is not go on strike but learn. [Yakovlev ends]

There were many more questions, ranging from Churbanov, to Nina Andreyeva, to Gorbachev's health, to the genealogical tree of the politburo, to where to buy washing powder, or MOSCOW NEWS, to whether one can sue the council of ministers. All those questions were about our time, which we are trying to understand and place ourselves in.

Jan-Feb Crime Statistics Worse Than 1988

PM1403164789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3

[Report by TASS correspondent V. Itkin: "USSR Internal Affairs Ministry Briefing"]

[Text] The country's crime statistics for the first 2 months of the year were presented at a briefing for Soviet journalists at the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry 6 March.

Unfortunately, the figures are not pleasing: In that period 75,000 more crimes were committed than in the same period last year. There was an increase in the number of thefts of personal, public, and state property, there was a higher incidence of robberies and hooliganism, and there were more cases of grievous bodily harm. The ministry leaders put these negative crime dynamics down to a drop in the standards of preventive work to combat drunkenness. For instance, nearly 70 percent of those who committed murder were drunk at the time.

One-fifth of the crimes was committed by previous offenders. Juvenile crime increased. During the 2 months more than 23,000 crimes were committed by or involving 14-17-year-old adolescents. The struggle against people leading a parasitic, antisocial way of life has lost considerable momentum of late.

It was stressed at the briefing that speculation is becoming increasingly widespread at the moment. Internal affairs organs identified more than 10,000 instances of criminal speculation, which is more than in the same period last year. There are many reasons for this. Above all, the unmet demand for consumer goods and so-called shortages. One must also mention the police's poor efforts to combat this social evil.

It was stressed at the briefing that in an atmosphere of democracy and glasnost it is necessary to get away from methods of administrative prohibition and make wider use of new forms of work based on the intelligent application of laws and improvement of professional expertise.

Journalists' questions were answered.

Problems of Prison, Rehabilitation Aired

PM1603094189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Mar 89 First Edition p 6

[Article by B. Plotkin and V. Strakhov, incorporating commentary by MVD Lieutenant Colonel V. Prokopenko: "Behind the Metal-Clad Door"]

[Text]

Report from a Strict-Regime Correctional-Labor Colony

...The heavy metal door clanged shut and we found ourselves in a narrow passage way with a single metal-barred window looking out on to the duty area. A sergeant in a uniform with dark-red shoulder boards took everyone in with a well-trained, searching look. And only then did the second metal-clad door begin to creak open. The group of journalists invited by the Chita Oblast Administration of Internal Affairs to visit a strict-regime corrective labor camp was inside the security zone.

A spacious, asphalted square marked out in white and rows of huts faced us. Here were maintained under constant guard people considered dangerous to society and therefore isolated from it. And there were the actual inmates of the colony—their heads closely cropped, wearing black caps, heavy jackets with yellow name tags, and brilliantly polished imitation leather boots. Their ashen pallor and dull, suspicious gaze have stuck in my memory.

There were no novices here—they all had two, three, or more dangerous crimes, several convictions, and a long life outside the law behind them. Such a way of life fashions its own rules of behavior and a code of morals that runs counter to the generally accepted one, shatters lives, and warps minds. Each one of them was responsible for grief and hundreds and thousands of rubles of damage caused to people and the state.

Statistical Data: Chita Oblast presently has 756 people serving sentences for murder, 376 for rape, 1,096 for larceny, 686 for malicious hooliganism, 297 for robbery with violence, and 287 for theft. More than 50 percent of the persistent offenders are under 30.

And yet they remain people who need our help.

"Our basic task is to prepare convicts for the cherished day of their release and equip them with the moral guidelines without which a return to a normal honest life is impossible," Lieutenant Colonel V. Pyasetskiy, deputy political officer in the Internal Affairs Administration Department in Charge of Corrective Affairs, told us. "Leaders of corrective-labor establishments have to show restraint, determination, and firmness."

Statistical data: Five murders, five escapes, and hostage-taking with the aim of escaping occurred in Chita Oblast corrective-labor establishments in 1988. The number of cases of alcohol and drug use increased.

...He shouted something from behind the steel bars in a bid to attract our attention. We journalists were permitted to talk with him. M. Dmitriyev, an offender with a long criminal record, complained vociferously: "I was beaten up by the guards in the investigation isolation unit." His agitation seemed genuine, the details not invented. We asked Assistant Prosecutor A. Kuklin for an explanation.

It was this way. In the morning the inmates of one of the cells in the investigation isolation unit where Dmitriyev was detained refused to obey when "reveille" was sounded. Then, after barricading the doors, they made deliberately unacceptable demands and tried to take a hostage. Dmitriyev actively supported his cellmates. Having exhausted all other means, the isolation unit chief, brought in a squad. Force—strictly within the limits of the law—was employed.

There are quite a few such cases. We learned that in 1987 Lieutenant Colonel Yu. Sarafannikov, deputy chief of the oblast department of correctional affairs with responsibility for conditions and operational work, was forced to become a prisoners' hostage. He went and was able to prevent seemingly inevitable bloodshed.

Last year was particularly tough. Many convicts were released from colonies under amnesty. The administration and educators lost an asset—a reliable nucleus of support among the inmates. This was exploited by the "hard cases."

Was this linked to the relaxation of conditions? Possibly. The way to stabilize the situation is to ensure that labor is better employed to reeducative ends. However, there is a whole nexus of problems there. Production in the colony is diversified, ranging from household trolleys to fur boots and gloves. But the equipment in the shops is old, having been transferred some time from city enterprises. The technology is antediluvian.

In conversation with us the convicts themselves complained about the absence of proper work.

"The situation is difficult," Major A. Darashkov said. "Our present low-standard, technically out-dated production does cause disgruntlement, particularly among the young ones. So work proves relatively ineffective as an educative factor."

The personnel departments of plants and construction projects are reluctant to recruit people who have "been away." So you get into a vicious circle, from which the only way out is quite often seen by people with weakened social links as lying in a new crime and a return to the accustomed life of the camp.

I am unable to get the meeting with S. Polorotov out of my head. He got his first conviction 40 years ago—for a trivial quarrel with a rural soviet chairman. Polorotov was then 23, he is now 63, and 34 of those years he has spent in confinement. In the colony we visited there are obviously other people with a similar background.

"The only sure way," V. Pyasetskiy thinks, "is the individual approach to every convict and the active involvement of relatives and labor collectives in educational work.

"We will only be able to say that life in the colony has dramatically changed when letters like the one shown me by A. Pershikov, director of a local vocational and technical college, are received here more often: 'Much esteemed Anatoliy Vasilyevich, Thank you very much for providing me with a skill and teaching me how to withstand difficulties. Oleg Pozdeyev.'"

Commentary by Lieutenant Colonel V. Prokopenko, staffer of the USSR MVD

How typical is the situation in the Transbaykal colony of the country's corrective-labor establishments as a whole? As a result of the positive changes in judicial practice and the execution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Amnesty Decree To Mark the 70th Anniversary of the October Revolution, most of the convicts with favorable reports, the asset spoken of in the article, were released. At the same time the ratio of people convicted for murder, rape, and serious crimes of violence increased. These kinds of convict have also become more aggressive. For example, correctional-labor institutions last year experienced 66 cases of attacks on establishment representatives and hostage-taking by convicts. Quite recently, for instance, a convict in a correctional-labor colony in Irkutsk Oblast stabbed to death Major Gridnev, the colony duty assistant chief, and seriously wounded two inspectors.

It has to be said that the criminal actions of some convicts are made easier in many respects by the absence of appropriate technical and legal protection for corrective-labor establishment personnel. There is as yet no article on liability for this cynical crime, which has frequently led to people's deaths.

There were a total of 1,772 crimes, including 130 premeditated murders and 239 cases of grievous bodily harm, committed in RSFSR corrective-labor establishments in 1988. Given the prevailing conditions, our staffers are required to show enhanced vigilance. Here is just one example. Relatives of A. Khudayberdyyev, a wheeler-dealer in the "cotton business" sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment for major embezzlement and bribery, suborned a member of the Uzbek Supreme Court and faked a resolution quashing the sentence that bore the genuine stamp of the republic Supreme Court. However, professional action by colony personnel thwarted this carefully elaborated plan to free the criminal.

On the other hand, it is right to talk about the inadmissibility of unlawful conduct by corrective-labor establishment staffers and encroachment by them on convicts' rights. The USSR MVD shares this concern. For example, around 5,500 people were deemed unfit for the job during a special assessment of corrective-labor establishment personnel in 1988. But we must be equally determined to expose those in places of confinement who refuse to work, those who propagate thieves' "ideology" and "traditions," and those without honor or conscience who are unwilling to compensate their victims or pay maintenance to their own children.

The report correctly evaluates the state of the material base with regard to the utilization of convicts' labor. The capital-labor ratio per worker at a USSR MVD corrective-labor establishment is 5 times lower than in the national economy as a whole and the ratio of electrical power to labor is 6.8 times lower. Enterprises are being retooled, new, highly productive equipment introduced, and obsolete equipment updated in the current and next 5-year plans to enhance the level of technical equipment in corrective-labor establishments and modernize them. However, only 40-45 percent of the equipment and capital investment requirements are being met by the planning organs. Any yet we are not just dealing with production but are above all concerned with providing convicts with a work speciality which will enable them to adapt more quickly at a modern enterprise after release.

The following figure was cited at a recent enlarged session of the USSR MVD Collegium devoted to last year's results: Last year alone 33,000 ex-convicts were for months unable to find themselves a job or obtain a residence permit. Herein lies one of the causes of habitual criminality. I consider it right for local soviets to examine specially at their sessions the state of work designed to place ex-convicts in jobs.

Meetings with journalists that take place actually in a colony are a form of glasnost, a way of strengthening collaboration between the USSR MVD and the mass media. We intend to continue the practice.

KGB Colonel Discusses Resolution of Hijack Case

LD1803163889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0330 GMT 18 Mar 89

[From the "120 Minutes" program, presented by Aleksandr Krutov and Irina Martynova; video shows presenters and guests (Vladimir Yetkin) and KGB Colonel (Nikolay Nalovin)]

[Text] [Krutov] You are watching the information and music program "120 Minutes". As you already know, the trial of the Yakshiants band has ended, the group which siezed as hostages fourth level pupils and their teacher from one of the Odzhonikidze schools in December last year. As we promised, we invited to the studio today (Vladimir Yetkin), the TASS correspondent who covered this trial in the press. Who else is invited, I do not know. Perhaps you would like to introduce us.

[(Yetkin)] Your guest today is Colonel (Nikolay Valentinovich Nalovin), member of an operational department of the central apparatus of the USSR Committee for State Security [KGB]. It is not too often that you are visited by people of this rank.

[Krutov] I believe this is the first time.

[(Yetkin)] Well, it is the first time in my experience. I would like to talk to (Nikolay) about what impression the participants made on him during the trial, and what impression the trial made on him; did he know the people he saw both in Mineralnye Vody and in Israel? Were these the same people or not?

[(Nalovin)] (Vladimir), let me put a question to you. I followed attentatively the way you covered the process in the press. So, what impression did you form about them?

[(Yetkin)] They are bandits, it is clear. This was determined by the court, too. But they are also people, and it was interesting to see their conduct in court. They were like lambs. I think that this is, so to speak, an altogether different conception in the approach to their behavior.

[(Nalovin)] Indeed, I observed them directly in Mineralnye Vody. I retain a memory of them as true bandits, people who had lost human appearance. I heard children's voices on the radio, then they begged for help. I talked to the children when they left the criminals, and they said how they were mocked by the criminals. This is, of course, unforgettable. I think that the court has passed a harsh but just sentence.

[(Yetkin)] Yes, I think so, too.

[Krutov] You met the criminals in Israel. You went there by air. Is it not so?

[(Nalovin)] Yes.

[(Yetkin)] Before responding to that question in depth, I would like to ask this question: Why is it that the Committee for State Security took upon itself the principal role and principal leadership in the realization of the "Thunder" operation? This is what I would like to ask. We will go back to your other question.

[(Nalovin)] First one should speak about competence in this respect. As you know, the state security bodies have been instructed to wage a struggle against especially dangerous state crime. In the actions of the Yakshiants group, one could see the signs of precisely this sort of crime. It became known to us later that we were dealing with inveterate criminals and bandits.

[(Yetkin)] Now let's us go back to the question put to you by Sasha [Krutov].

[(Nalovin)] Yes, in keeping with the decision of our leadership I went by air to Israel as a member of the group. There were 19 of us. If I am to talk about the impressions about which (Vladimir) asked me to speak, then it must be said that first and foremost we were tackling the main task: The task of the speediest possible return from Israel of the criminals and of those they took with them from our country. In these matters we were given sufficient help by our consulate group of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Israel, headed by Comrade (Markirosov).

[(Yetkin)] And also in Moscow.

[(Nalovin)] Yes, also in Moscow. We encountered a great understanding, I consider, on the part of the Israeli authorities, despite the fact that that day was Saturday, which is an obligatory nonworking day for them. They were tackling with us the questions of handing them over.

[(Yetkin)] And were there any relations between yourself and Israeli special services? Were you aware of any?

[(Nalovin)] On the whole we basically worked with the representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, although in the final stages the criminals were handed to us directly by representatives of the police. The relations were very amicable. They were doing everything possible to quickly resolve the questions linked with the speediest possible handing over of the criminals to us.

[Krutov] (Nikolay Valentinovich). Excuse my turning to (Yetkin,) who was keen to ask another question. This is what interests me: (Niklay Valentinovich), when these bandits found out that they were being sent back to the USSR—you saw their faces—what were their feelings, what was the expression on their face? This is interesting.

[(Yetkin)] They had no expression on their face, they did not even have a face.... [(Yetkin) and Krutov laugh]

[(Nalovin)) Yes, this indeed is how they were. They did not expect it. Their eyes had a dazed expression. One could say that the fact that they were once again going on the same aircraft on which they flew to Israel made that sort of impression on them.

[(Yetkin)] They were no better off than before. Their pockets were stuffed with dollars, shillings—whatever you wish—with any kind of currency. [passage indistinct] They had it in their pockets, in their hats, everywhere. So, this is the essence of human nature, and this was human greed. I would like to ask yet another question: (Nikolay)'s profession is that of aviation engineer. He is a graduate of the Civil Aviation Institute. I have the following question for you: If the situation arose whereby you had to get involved in this game—let us call it this way—would you be able to do this? At the time you were in Mineralnye Vody you were in the uniform of a civilian aviation pilot.

[(Nalovin)] This question has been studied. If we had failed to get the children from the hands of the criminals in Mineralnye Vody, and if it was necessary to fly an aircraft to Israel, I was getting ready to to go as a member of the crew.

[(Yetkin)] This is interesting.

[Krutov] Yes, it is interesting.

[(Yetkin)] And another thing....

[Krutov] This is the final question.

[(Yetkin)] Yes, the final one. Why is it that the operation succeeded? After all, in my life time, which is quite a long time, according to statistics, since 1969 there were 800 aircraft hijacks in the world, blood was spilled, and there were corpses. And now, for the first time, and happily in our country, it was handled successfully.

[(Nalovin)] The reasons for this are varied. It was primarily the fact that the leadership of the operation was undertaken by the leaders of our committee, who are sufficiently professional and experienced people....

[(Yetkin) interrupts] And also the Ministry of International Affairs.

[(Nalovin)] Yes, absolutely; all these questions were solved efficiently in close cooperation with the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the minister of civil aviation, and the minister of finance.

[(Yetkin)] Please elaborate about the minister of finance. It is interesting.

[(Nalovin)] Yes, this situation was quite extraordinary. Practically via a telephone call, in the presence of the minister of finance, our members received at night, by an ordinary receipt, about R2 million.

[(Nalovin)] In hard currency. And we then delivered it for the disposal of the headquarters in Mineralnye Vody.

[(Yetkin)] The main headquarters were [words indistinct].

[(Nalovin)] And the second question is about the heroism and courage of the security officers, (R. Chekisty), members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, civil aviation employees, and all those who participated.

[(Yetkin)] Yesterday, by the way, at the trial, Judge Mukhin conveyed a particular recognition addressed to the Ministry of Civil Aviation and noted the courage of the crew of IL-76-T aircraft.

[Krutov] I will add to this, that the main ringleader of the band, Yakshiyants, received 15 years in jail. Muravlev, Vishnyakov, and Anastasov received 14 years in jail, did they not?

[(Yetkin]) No, they received a 14-year sentence. But in Muravlev's case this was 10 years in jail, and the others received 5 years each in jail.

[Krutov] And Dzhafarov was sentenced to 3 years deprivation of freedom.

Thank you for coming to our program. If you have some other interesting cases about which you could tell our television viewers, then we invite you to do so. Thank you.

[(Yetkin) and (Nalovin]) Thank you and good bye.

Controllers on Problems in Trade Establishments

NC1503103089 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 14 Mar 89

[From the Republican Press Review]

[Text] The republic's people's control committee has inspected the work of a number of trade establishments. The people's controllers have discovered serious shortcomings. Detailed information is included in the report that has been published in VYSHKA by Azerinform correspondent Aliyeva.

Economic

Competition Playing Growing Role in Economy

LD1703104389 Moscow TASS in English 0956 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Kirill Dibrova:

A decade ago competitiveness was an alien word in the socialist economy and many thought it was absolutely unnecessary if not impossible.

Some three years ago the Soviet Union found itself at an economic impasse and the need for radical changes became all too evident, but competitiveness was still described as necessary though distant reality.

At present, economic competitiveness is making inroads into the bureaucratic structures of the administer-by-command system of management.

Last year when collective farms were allowed to buy whatever equipment they needed on the market or from plants of their choosing, many manufacturers found themselves in a difficult situation. Their products were shunned for their poor quality and sky-high prices.

For example, the Krasnoyarsk Agricultural Machinery Plant in Eastern Siberia had difficulty selling its Yenisey harvester as buyers overwhelmingly favoured the Niva combine made in Rostov-on-Don in Southern Russia.

The Krasnoyarsk plant which was without government subsidies at the time and had switched over to self-financing ran into financial difficulties and was on a brink of bankruptcy with even not enough money to pay its workers.

In frantic efforts to save the dying enterprise, the engineers changed the design of the harvester in three months. Previously it would have taken them several years to boost its performance. The harvester made a comeback on the market, sales boomed rescuing the plant from otherwise certain economic collapse.

In Armenia recently the Masis footwear manufacturer made headlines when cooperatives in Yerevan saturated the market with fashionable brightly coloured summer shoes shrinking its profits. The cooperative shoes sold for 40-45 roubles a pair and were much more attractive than the quality-made but outdated masis leather footwear. Masis struck back, churning out similar brightly coloured shoes and selling them for 15-20 roubles. The cooperatives, in turn, had to reduce their prices to compete.

In this way elements of a market system are entering the Soviet economy and many economists believe that its future is in a sensible combination of market mechanisms with centralised management. " The market will regulate the policy of enterprises and the state will have control over such huge economic tasks and programmes as the exploration of the north, space reseach and some others" academician Oleg Bogomolov, a noted Soviet economist, said.

Cooperatives 'Booming' Despite Obstacles

PM2103094189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 1

[E. Gonzalyez commentary under the rubric "Statistics and Our Commentary": "The Cooperative Movement Is Booming"]

[Text] Whether we like it or not, there are already 77,548 cooperatives in the country according to data from the USSR State Committee for Statistics. That is to say, their number has increased sixfold in the course of a year. The number of people working in cooperatives is growing even faster and has increased from 156,000 to 1.4 million in the course of one year! And that despite covert opposition from competitors in the state sector and the bureaucracy and despite open hostility on the part of the population!

These figures and growth rates speak not only of the viability of the new cooperative movement and of the cooperative workers' enviable spirit of enterprise. They also clearly indicate that we tend to exaggerate the number of their irreconcilable opponents. It is true that the attitude toward cooperatives has divided society into those who are actively "against" and those who are passively "for." How are we to ascertain who belongs to what side? The opponents of cooperatives are easily recognizable. They express their opinion very loudly, categorically, allegedly acting from principled, class positions. Most of the supporters keep quiet and avail themselves of the services and goods provided by the cooperatives.

Are there many or few of these supporters? The answer is simple: If there were few, cooperatives would not be springing up like mushrooms after rain. After all, as distinct from other enterprises, they do not have a guaranteed market, they cannot produce goods for storage in warehouses, and they do not use the make-weight technique to get rid of unpopular goods. So it can be assumed that the people who do not use the services of cooperatives as a matter of principle are not that numerous and that their number will decrease further as time passes because another 58,100 cooperatives have already been registered and are getting ready to start operations.

The cooperatives' interests are divided in the main between consumer services (30.6 percent), consumer goods production (20.8 percent), and public catering—the sphere which has attracted the greatest indignation, but where less than one-tenth of cooperative members are employed. Yet listening to people you might get the impression that virtually all of them sell kebabs on the street. And that those who do not, buy up goods in short supply in order to resell them. Yet statistics prove, down to tenths of a percentage point that only 6.5 percent of cooperatives engage in trade or purchasing activities. To date cooperatives account only for...0.9 percent of the public catering turnover.

It must be noted that five times as many cooperatives engage in construction work and the processing of secondary raw materials and other useful work as the number engaged in running cafes and restaurants. But it seems that cooperative restaurants now occupy the same place in public consciousness that ordinary restaurants occupied 20-30 years ago. Then, you will remember, they were regarded as dens of vice where decent people would not be seen. The same applies to cooperative restaurants nowadays, where according to some people's firm conviction the clientele is eating and drinking through their unearned income, which the management uses to stuff their mattresses.

Since it is absolutely impossible to convince anyone that this is not so, I would like to draw general attention to another circumstance. Even if the money changes hands, it does not mean that the overall amount of money in circulation in the country increases. I am saying this because accusations have already been leveled at the cooperatives, blaming them for the exacerbation of our financial difficulties. It has been claimed that the huge incomes are further whipping up demand which is already rampant.... The fact is that money is only made available to construction and similar cooperatives. It is true, of course, that their earnings are three to four times higher than the wages paid by the construction and installation administration. But then, they are working four times harder, and they have no "unfinished projects" to their name.

On the subject of the geographical distribution of cooperatives it is possible to say that they seem to be putting down roots in all latitudes. With the possible exception of Turkmenia (where cooperatives total only 400), Tajikistan (700), and Kirghizia (1,300) as a result of a "climate" to which cooperatives find it difficult to adapt. It could, of course, be attributed to national characteristics, but here is what G. Shipitko from Frunze recently wrote to the editorial office.

The Kirghiz Council of Ministers has analyzed the situation concerning cooperatives. The adopted resolution, naturally, advocates "their further development." Along with uncontroversial measures, the following measures are also planned: Checks are to be carried out within 1 month at all public catering cooperatives and should infringement of sanitary norms be revealed, the cooperatives in question are to be closed down. On the one hand this seems quite correct, yet on the other hand it looks very much like the oblispolkoms and gorispolkoms are being prompted as to what policy to follow.

Other measures include suspending the operations of all trade and purchasing cooperatives, reregistering their statutes, and allowing such cooperatives to operate only in conjuction with consumer cooperative enterprises and organizations. This is totally one-sided. And the main point: On what grounds is this being done? The consumer cooperative would indeed like to have such cooperatives attached to them. But why do it by force? And why allow such cooperatives to operate "only" in conjunction with consumer cooperatives?

The USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development recalled no such restriction in the relevant government resolution. However, obviously at republic level it was deemed necessary to extend the list of prohibitions, or to be guided not so much by the letter as by the spirit of the law. And as for the spirit, different people interpret it differently.

It has to be assumed that the fact that almost half the registered cooperatives (43 percent) have not yet gone into operation is due not least of all to decisions of this kind. And how many more are there that have not succeeded in obtaining registration! In one city detailed information about all cooperative members is required, in another people have to first find suitable premises, although the registration is done by the local soviet which is also in charge of allocation of premises. And everywhere, as a rule, it is required that the cooperative is attached to some kind of enterprise or institution. Best of all, if you can manage it, tie it to a competitor, it will be a nonstarter then.

Yet, despite all the difficulties the cooperative system is developing rapidly. Last year it produced R6 billion worth of goods and services. On the scale of the country as a whole it is not that much, but it is considerably more than the R350 million at the close of 1987. Incidentally, comparisons cannot be drawn here with the corresponding period of the previous year, as is the custom in industry, for some reason. Here even from month to month the changes are severalfold. In the last quarter of the year the cooperative output (work, services) sales volumes totaled on average R1.15 billion per month. The corresponding figure for the first quarter, for the sake of comparison, was just R108.6 million. A ten-fold increase. But can this pace be maintained? After all, a new test of strength is in store for the cooperatives—the new taxation system. Local soviets whose budgets may be bolstered with cooperative money are yet to find the "golden mean"—a level of taxation, that is, which would simultaneously promote both the growth of the number of cooperatives and payments into the budget. How this works out will obviously be reflected in the figures for the 3d quarter.

Estonian Party Official on Economic Changes

LD2103002789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] The draft of general principles of the restructuring of the management of the economy and social sphere is being widely discussed in the union republics. Our correspondent Heymar Lenk tells us how discussion of the draft is proceeding in Estonia:

[Lenk] Here in Estonia the draft of general principles of restructuring in the republics has aroused enormous, in the literal sense of the word, interest. After all, the document deals with precisely those issues which both politicians and economists here in Estonia have been working on for more than a year. They include the expansion of the sovereign rights of the republic and, of course, regional financial autonomy. Incidentally, the very conception of republican financial autonomy has, theoretically, already been prepared here and the other day it was passed to the republic's government by economists. The conception will also be published for broad discussion. And so our public is well acquainted with the draft of the program for financial autonomy. But, as it seems to me, the population of other parts of the country are not so well informed about precisely what regional financial autonomy should give a specific region and why Estonian scholars are insisting on it so much. Please listen to one of the authors of the idea of financial autonomy, Mikk Titma, doctor of philosophical sciences and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia:

[Begin Titma recording] The country's market and economy are huge. Unless it has local structures, in other words, unless we are masters of our economic activity in Sverdlovsk Oblast, or Estonia, for example, then inevitably we feel locally that everything is disconnected, as though local society, the market, consumption, and real production are torn apart. It is important for the country to divide this huge and cumbersome thing into relatively autonomous economic integral wholes and then we will produce for the local consumer within these integral wholes. Then we will produce for exchange between regions. In such a case, the all-union market will then be formed on the basis of relatively autonomous local markets which interact. A modern economy as in Western Europe is formed from relatively healthy economic units and they should exist starting from the working collective and going up to the region and then to the country. Rather than this, we attempted to go straight from the country to the work collective. Unfortunately, the economy has to be structured to a greater degree. There have to be intermediate links in the chain. [end recording]

Agricultural

Development of Latvian Peasant Farms Outlined

PM2103094589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by R. Bashkevits, first deputy chairman of the Latvian SSR Gosagroprom: "Peasants' Interests. On the Eve of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] For Latvian peasants work has always been a moral law and the main yardstick of somebody's worth. Respectful attitudes to our mother earth and the skill of working it have been handed down from generation to generation. There are tens of thousands of folk songs about nature and farmers' noble and difficult lot.

Agrarian reform took place in Latvia in 1920. Tens of thousands of peasants obtained land holdings of between 10 and 22 hectares in size, which all their family members were able to work. By the late thirties there were more than 230,000 peasant farms.

The peasants' skills in obtaining as much as possible from each plot of land, working with real intelligence, living on the basis of common sense, and using scientific recommendations had long been known. Sensible use was made of state subsidies and various forms of the cooperative system. In a relatively short time agriculture, particularly dairy farming, managed to achieve highly tangible results.

Mass collectivization, unfortunately, took no account of the mistakes and distortions committed in the other union republics. The most important consequence of this was the alienation of peasants from the land. The position deteriorated over the long years of the domination of the administrative-edict system. Clover would be replaced by corn on orders from above, kolkhozes were unthinkingly changed into sovkhozes, and farms were unjustifiably amalgamated.

We have now recognized that agricultural development rates in the republic are unsatisfactory. Agricultural land has fallen by more than 1 million hectares compared with 1940 and an enormous amount of this land is overgrown. The more than 10,000 abandoned farms are a silent reproach to us.

Life demands that the situation be changed urgently and resolutely. We must create economic relations in the countryside which will make it possible to return fields and farms to masters once again, to make better use of equipment, and to reduce labor expenditure. We are taking specific measures to resolve these tasks. We are striving to work out a scientifically validated structural policy for the siting of agricultural production, and we are improving peasants' living conditions. We are trying to bring about a more extensive transition to lease relations and economic accountability.

What is the actual situation at present? Of the 570 kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the republic just over one-third are entirely successful, have a strong material and technical base and a developed social infrastructure, and are staffed with skilled cadres. They have made a painless transition to self-financing and cost recovery. These farms have their own processing enterprises and various cottage industries and workshops. Two opposite processes can be observed on such farms—production centralization alongside a simultaneous decentralization of management. Thirty of these farms have become agricultural firms while eight have become agricultural combines. They have direct access to foreign markets and are constantly improving their labor organization methods, enhancing their workers' professional standards, and developing economic specialization and integration.

The main thing in relations with this group is not to spoil or wreck organizational structures and workers' interest but to alter and improve them. On large farms there are opportunities to thoroughly use progressive technology. It is significantly harder to carry out restructuring on medium-sized and weak kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Their potential is markedly less. Land quality there is also poorer and they are short of labor. Assimilating leases on such farms is more complex. Yet the transition to economic management methods should not be postponed. We are striving to ensure that people approach work in a balanced and well-conceived way everywhere. In setting up a lease collective people's professional knowledge and even their psychological compatibility must be taken into account. There must be a vested interest in collective labor. Only then can people be given leases for the long-term use of land and means of production.

In its resolution the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers confirmed the right of the republic's citizens to use abandoned farm premises. The procedure for drawing up a state deed for the use of land in the amount determined in each specific instance by the rayispolkom was laid down. In the event of the owners of the peasant farm dying or becoming unfit for work the land in question passes to their heirs. The state deed lists all the owner's economic, financial, and supply rights.

Dozens of families have become farmers. They have been allocated for lifetime use 740 hectares of land, whose fertility they are obliged to constantly improve. They are also obliged to ensure full crop rotation and provide feed for their livestock. There are different types of equipment on such farms—tractors, seed drills, harvesters, and feed threshers. However, as a rule the machines are old. It is hard to get loans for new equipment which is too expensive.

New ideas are finding it hard to make progress. Nonetheless, there are more and more supporters of the transformations in the countryside. More than 450 families want to become true masters of the land, test their strength in practice, engage in production without prompting, and supply their fellow citizens with high-quality foodstuffs.

Will it be easy for them to do this? I think not. The approximate forecast of assumed income and expenditure for an optimum peasant farm with a land area of 50 hectares shows that capital investment and operating costs will require a bank loan of R100,000. For a family of five, the funds remaining at the peasant's disposal will be just R5,000 in the 1st year and R10,000 in the 2d year—growing to R15,000 only in the 3d and subsequent years.

Bank loan repayment schedules and interest rates clearly discriminate against leaseholders and peasant farms. After all, sovkhozes and kolkhozes are entitled to take out loans from the same banks at a cost several times lower. Financiers are thereby putting small farmers at a disadvantage from the outset. The Latvian SSR Gosagroprom has asked the USSR Agro-Industrial Bank to abolish its established procedure. But no decisions have been made as yet.

There are many problems with supply, although the republic has been trying to solve these problems. The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers has reaffirmed that peasant farms are entitled to acquire tractors, trucks, agricultural equipment, units, and spares without any discrimination—in just the same way as sovkhozes and kolkhozes—at wholesale prices. However, it is prohibited to resell equipment to individual workers. The same is true of mineral fertilizers, feed concentrate, equipment, construction materials, fuels, lubricants, and other materials. These are also sold to peasant farms at wholesale prices.

Only the first steps have been taken down this new road. There should be thousands of peasant farms, not just dozens. In order to ensure that people engage in farming more willingly, the Latvian SSR Gosagroprom proposes not levying agricultural tax on such farms for the first 2-3 years, and also excusing them from deductions from income earned from output sales. It would be right to give small farmers priority regarding communication and trade services, and to allocate cars for sale to those cultivating not less than 20 hectares.

Peasant farms are not in opposition to kolkhozes, sovkhozes, or the cooperative system in the broad sense. Moreover, with their participation the cooperative system could be reborn in its classic form. We have already attempted to set up a rayon cooperative association. It unites all forms of agricultural production and processing on voluntary lines.

The initiative of Latvian rural people has been awoken. Approaches to this important problem have been defined. The republic's peasantry is ever more actively overcoming its alienation from the land and changing its views of life and its attitudes toward society. The sense of being master is being asserted.

Military

Importance of Asserting Regulation Order Cited

PM2003132189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Mar 89 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Regulation Order. Using the Authority of Regulations and the Strength of Military Comradeship We Will Smash the Psychology of Egoism and Cliquishness"]

[Text] A serious event occurred recently in a Moscow Military District garrison. A commission of military regulations experts was needed to investigate the matter. The regulations are always impartial: They are either the judge or the counsel for the defense. The experts found that a whole series of regulation requirements had been disregarded by the garrison's officials. The conclusion was obvious: If the legal norms had been observed, the breach of military discipline would not have developed into the extraordinary event it did. One involuntarily bows one's head before the regulations: There is just so much wise foresight in its "spare but ponderous prose," as one poet said.

Yes, these books with the national emblem on the title so familiar to us embody the will of the state, party policy in military building, the Leninist principles of ensuring socialist legality in the Armed Forces, and many years' experience of troop practice. Meeting regulation requirements means ensuring a level of organization in units and aboard ships that will guarantee the effective training and education of personnel, a high degree of combat readiness, and a healthy moral atmosphere in the collective. Wherever the regulations triumph, so order triumphs, justice and purity of relations are prized, and everyone fully appreciates the strict suitability of the whole structure of military service.

In order to fulfill and uphold regulation requirements one has to have a firm knowledge of what they are, of course. Any commander always has the military regulations on hand on his work table. But would all of them venture to take upon themselves the mission of expert in military regulation issues, for example? Obviously not. All too often we satisfy ourselves with a superficial, approximate knowledge of the law. Many shortcomings in service and errors in work with people arise precisely because of our superficial understanding of regulation requirements, our incorrect or even totally wrong interpretation of them, and the legal nihilism that is difficult to eradicate. Study of the regulations in the system of professional training is far from always linked with practice and real life or backed up by the practice of daily checking what is against what should be—the model being the letter and spirit of the regulations.

A noteworthy feature and constructive strong point of our regulations is that they are specific and make the object of their requirements clear. For example, they give an extremely clear, exhaustive definition of the range of responsibilities of all officials in the regimental and shipboard link and, figuratively speaking, establish the scale of everyone's personal responsibility. So why are such vague, general appeals to strengthen order and discipline sometimes made at meetings and official conferences? Who is supposed to strengthen order and discipline and how? A study of the work style of commanders and staffs in units not distinguished by strict order shows, as a rule, that there is no real exactingness with regard to accurate, qualitative fulfillment of regulation requirements and that the criteria of personal responsibility have been eroded.

Another shortcoming is equally widespread—tolerance and permissiveness in matters of military discipline and attempts to embellish the true picture and cover up transgressions. It is impossible to establish regulation order without ensuring the inevitability of punishment for any violation of this order. Impunity is corrosive and eats away the foundations of military life, destroying the basis of the entire training system. A dishonest report or unobjective assessment of the state of affairs is incompatible with the spirit of the regulations.

Objectivity in matters great and small, strictness, and justice are the essence of a commanding officer's exactingness. Real exactingness has nothing in common with unsystematic campaigns, "crash programs" to establish order the day before a check is to be carried out, or officers "dressing down" their subordinates at the slightest provocation. Regulation order is established by painstaking, thoughtful work and the comprehensive solution of problems with the active participation of all officers, soldiers, and sergeants and the entire Army and Navy community and with maximum use of the strength of glasnost and the educational potential of the democratic institutions among the troops. Everything must be imbued with the struggle for precise conformity with regulations: relations between senior and junior personnel, the combat training process, the everyday life and rhythm of routine garrison duty, and disciplinary practice.

The educational influence of the personal example set by the commanding officer is great in this respect. "Essentially, the whole of the commanding officer's activity is regulated by the regulations," wrote Lieutenant General V. Davidenko—retired, hero of the Soviet Union, who was commander of a regiment for many years—to the editorial office. "With his every word, decision, action, even his demeanor and manner of speaking to people he either exalts the regulations or brings them down—and his authority with them." If the regulations instruct the commander of a regiment to conduct exercises with the commanders of battalions, their deputies, and the chiefs of the different categories of troops and services, every one of these exercises must be a model example of expertise in method and a responsible, creative attitude toward the task at hand. If the regulations require a commanding officer to inspect arms, combat equipment, and other equipment no less than twice a year, these inspections must be inspections to put everyone on their guard and serve as lessons in high technical standards and careful thrift.

Through regulation order with its thorough, verified regulation of all aspects of service the commander creates a system for preventing breaches of military discipline. But is it reliable and unfailing in every unit and on every ship? Are the dozens of military servicemen who wear red and blue armbands on their sleeves every hour of the day equal to their service requirements? Can you hear the exacting voice of the sergeants and petty officers who are always—day and night—alongside their subordinates? Can you feel their intolerance of lack of discipline and slackness among the soldiers? Turning to the regulations again, the commanding officer must clearly hear these questions and answer them frankly and honestly in the party spirit.

It is not easy to establish regulation order in which so much is concentrated. It also is not easy to defend this order. Nonregulation relations are a direct encroachment on this order. The social roots of these relations lie in the desire of some military servicemen to replace the regulations, before which all are equal, with their own unwritten "regulations." And through psychological pressure and even physical gibing they want to impose these unwritten "regulations" on their fellow servicemen, allowing some to shift their duties unto others and assume certain privileges. These nonregulation relations go further than the infamous "bullying," although this is particularly widespread. Barracks hooliganism, as practice has convinced us, is also possible in subunits made up of servicemen all conscripted at the same time. It often develops on the basis of clannishness, ethnic cliquishness, and machismo. Nonregulation relations represent a sharp conflict between the law and lawlessness, duty and honor and dishonor.

There are a considerable number of units and ships in the Armed Forces which have never experienced this antisocial phenomenon. And there are even more military collectives which have overcome and eradicated nonregulation relations. The latter include, for example, the military construction detachment under the command of Lieutenant Colonel D. Dichki (Moscow Military District). Here, exactingness toward people is indivisible from concern for them, and all the conditions have been created for fruitful study, productive work, and interesting leisure. The main thing, however, is the individual educational work based on the character of each person and the inclinations and moral principles he has developed in pre-Army life. In military construction detachments there is a number of additional problems in this work: Some conscripts have shortcomings in their physical development, a criminal record, and a poor knowledge of the Russian language, but even these difficulties, as we can see, can be overcome. You just need to work sensibly, purposefully, and in step with the times.

"It is impossible to eradicate nonregulation relations solely with the aid of a correct, efficient service organization, although this is extremely important, too, "Lt Col A. Korchagin, commander of a unit where this evil has been eradicated, believes. "Baseness that is not destroyed ideologically will find a loophole. To combat 'bullying,' we have to rally all healthy forces in the collective and attack the psychology of egoism and cliquishness on a broad front. It is not enough to explain to a young soldier that he is defending his honor and dignity in this struggle. Many, unfortunately, are prepared to forgo their personal dignity: This is what they have been taught from their life in the streets, hanging around backyards. It is important to help everyone to realize and understand with their hearts that we are talking about the social prestige of the Armed Forces, the fate of the brilliant traditions bequeathed us by the front-line fighters, and, finally, the peace of mind of the mothers saying farewell to their sons as they leave for Army service and the conscripts waiting for their draft papers. We are talking about everyone's right to worthily fulfill his honorable constitutional duty. When a person, even a person who has yet to establish his attitude toward life, sees everything that lies behind the games of the 'bullies,' he literally rises up against it...."

E. Odzhagov, a lieutenant in the Pacific Fleet, writes about the same thing. The Komsomol organization can do a great deal, in his opinion, to overcome nonregulation relations. This is on the condition that its leaders among the seamen and petty officers openly and frankly stand up to the leaders of informal groups. And they must be given skillful, timely support from officers and the party organization.

What can be learned from the experience of units and ships where regulation order is not a wish but a real fact of life in all its manifestations? First and foremost, that nonregulation relations can be eradicated. Not tomorrow—today. This evil is tenacious because it has succeeded in arraying itself in the garb of an unhealthy tradition and infecting a lot of people with its virus. In both the Army and the Navy there are enough forces and resources to determinedly put an end to this disgraceful phenomenon once and for all. While relying on himself and his work and taking complete responsibility for his subordinates, the commander and the political worker do, of course, hope for some help from the parents of the soldiers of the future, the schools, and the military commissariats. They will gratefully accept competent advice from military pedagogues and psychologists, and will always respond to unbiased, albeit critical, opinions from writers and publicists.

The struggle for regulation order is a struggle for restructuring in the Armed Forces, their qualitative renewal, the triumph of the rule of law in the military system, and the fusion of democracy and discipline. It is a struggle for the reliable defense of the enormous creative work being done in our country.

* Response to Sakharov on Shooting of Soldiers

18010520 Moscow TRUD in Russian
12 Mar 89 p 1

[Article by N. Cherginets, writer, holder of the Order of the Red Banner and Red Star: "Who Shoots His Own?"]

[Text] Minsk—I shall say at the outset that I have never believed that the accusations and persecution to which Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov has been subjected in recent years have been fair. And I was very glad when justice was restored with respect to him. Moreover, many of his ideas and suggestions regarding the restructuring of our social and political life find favor with me. I like them because of their moral and humane basis. So it was even more painful when I read in our press the announcements that in an interview in a Canadian newspaper, the OTTAWA CITIZEN, A.D. Sakharov said that in Afghanistan Soviet helicopters were shooting our soldiers who had fallen around them so that they could not be taken captive.

This is not true, Andrey Dmitriyevich! I was in Afghanistan for 3 years. At this time I shall not go into the political problematic surrounding this war which, thank God, is behind us now. But I was there and I cannot let pass any untruth about it—my memory of those who died will not allow this; I am moved to action by a sense of elementary justice without which there can be no mention of a moral regeneration of our society. So I know what it is to be in combat when surrounded. I want everybody to know what I am going to say, even those who paid attention to you in Canada.

I recall a battle southeast of Kabul on 20 June 1984. We managed to evacuate the dead and wounded soldiers from the battlefield, but the medics did not manage to render first aid to the wounded because the command point was surrounded by the enemy. We were running out of shells and nobody could break through to help us. The rebels had set fire to the grass that surrounded us on three sides right up to the area where the command point was located. And then on an order from General A. Sergeyev the Soviet helicopters of the Kabul helicopter regiment came to our assistance. The pilots tried to get near to us several times but the enemy's heavy fire and the thick wall of smoke made it practically impossible for them to land their vehicles on the tiny pad. They did it anyway. Seven circling helicopters took the fire while the eighth landed, gathered up the wounded, and took off. After them came another one which gathered up the dead and also took off. The rest continued the battle at an altitude of 20-30 meters and helped the armored group to come to our aid. I do not know whether the boys who were saved by the helicopters will have anything to say. I repeat that this was on 20 June 1984 southeast of Kabul in a green area not far from the kishlaks of Sakhakh and Myakhel.

I can give many cases such as this. Yes, there were cases when the Soviet subdivisions had to draw artillery fire and I have also had occasion to experience this cruel law of war. Although rarely, it sometimes happens that in the darkness in the mountains someone opens fire in the direction of their own people. I recall an inaccurate bomb dropping when several bombs were dropped near our positions. Of course it is twice as terrible to die at the hands of your own compatriots. A careful investigation was conducted for each case and the strictest measures were taken against those who were responsible. But did the helicopter pilots deliberately shoot their own men when they were surrounded? Is such a thing really possible? Apparently somebody slipped Andrey Dmitriyev this provocatory "information" for only one purpose—to take advantage of his authority to cast a shadow on the Soviet soldier. Possibly the Academician was guided by humane motives, but in the end they turned out to be inhumane.

I still have a photograph of our comrades who died—a senior lieutenant and 17 soldiers.

On 4 September 1986 they set out in 13 KamAZ trucks to get gravel for the construction of a school. They were forced from the road and outside Kabul they got caught in an ambush. The rebels destroyed the convoy and took the boys captive. They tried to take them with them. With their hands tied the boys lay on the ground and would not take a step! Then the rebels carried out their usual bloody slaughter: They cut them and then killed them. They stuck them with needles and then killed them. They threw one of the boys whose hands and feet were bound on a stack of straw and burned him alive. These are facts which cannot be refuted. Concerning the helicopter pilots they are the ones who, having landed to look for the convoy, saw it but did not open fire so that, God forbid, they would not kill their own people. They only reported the coordinates to the ground forces. Alas, they were too late.... This was, I repeat, on 4 September 1986 to the west of Kabul not far from the kishlak of Isakkheyl.

I have these photographs. I am ready to turn them over as soon as the scholar requests them. I am ready to give the names of the pilots who risked their lives to save the Soviet fighting men who had fallen while surrounded. I can give many names of those who gave their lives to save their comrades-in-arms.

The Army had a policy: Whenever one of our servicemen died or was wounded there was an official investigation and any commanders who did not do everything possible to avoid even one loss were held strictly accountable. I can give the names of commanders who held high posts in our Army who at great risk to their own lives broke through to help their men who had fallen while surrounded. These include Generals Yu. Yarygin and P. Grachev, Colonels Ye. Bocharov and A. Volkov, Lieutenant Colonel A. Kinzerskiy and many, many others. And when our soldiers have been surrounded they have always been confident that regardless of what turn the battle may take someone would hurry there to help them.

...In the spring of 1985 in the province of Kunar an airborne company was destroyed. The rebels surrounded the section of ground in a thick ring. They had even managed to create an air defense system around the periphery of their position. The combat began at 1100 hours and by 1600 hours it was clear that neither our subdivisions nor the Afghan subdivision would manage to come to their aid. The command sent one group of helicopters for the airborne subdivisions and another was sent into battle—not to shoot their own men but to divert the forces of the enemy, which was greatly superior in numbers, from the rapidly fading company that was surrounded. The helicopters literally hung over the rebel positions and fired point blank. The enemy was strong that day; there were too many rebels armed with the most modern weapons. And the drugs were doing their work. The enemy did not count their losses; a tasty morsel was in front of them—a surrounded company.

When it became clear to those who were surrounded that the matter was nearing a tragic outcome—where hand-to-hand combat in which one person would have to fight 30 rebels could not be avoided, and this meant that it was possible that there would be prisoners—the company commander began to ask the helicopter pilots to open fire on their own positions. But then none, listen, not one of the pilots could carry out this desperate request....

Of course this battle can no longer be discussed by the Senior Lieutenant Vladimir Zadorozhnyy who, when an American grenade flew into his trench spun like a top, did something that probably not every soldier could do—he covered the grenade with his body. Lance Corporal Aleksandr Koryavin cannot discuss this battle either. He shielded Lieutenant Andrey Ivonin while he was dressing his wound. They cannot discuss this because the title of Hero was conferred upon them posthumously. But I hope this battle can be discussed by the helicopter pilots who took the fire of the rebels and the airborne troops who managed to come to their aid anyway. Those who came out of the battle alive, of course....

I wonder what Col Oleg Kucherenko thinks about A. D. Sakharov's statement. Breaking through the lines in his MI-8, he destroyed the rebel heavy machine guns and recoilless weapons, landed his vehicle under heavy fire, and, having taken a group of surrounded soldiers on board, by some miracle took off. It is not difficult to guess what is felt in the soul of Col Vladimir Kopchikov, the holder of the Orders of Lenin and the Red Banner, who along with his subordinates also broke through enemy lines and gathered up the living and the dead. And it was not in order to shoot their own brothers that Captains Sergey Blokhin and Mikhail Sarychev, risking their own lives at night under fire, landed their vehicles on one wheel on a mountain top in order to deliver the wounded to the hospital....

"The helicopter operators shot their own people...." Cold, cruel words. As if they were not people at the controls, this impersonal accusation assumes the character of an accusation directed against the helicopter pilots—both the ones who lived and the ones who died. It seems that it was for the sake of "work" that the helicopter pilots, Heroes of the Soviet Union, Major Vyacheslav Gaynutdinov, Maj Yuriy Grudinkin, and Capts Vyacheslav Kuzminov and Aleksandr Sadokhin died.... This is how far the blasphemy can go.

My second book about the war in Afghanistan comes out this year. It tells both of those who fought on land and those who fought in the air—the helicopter pilots. In the book I write about death and captivity and the parents who waited for their injured children and those whose sons will never come home. The very logic of what I saw and experienced suggested the title of the book—"Sons." Because our soldiers were sons for those who commanded them and for those helicopter pilots who, sometimes at the price of their own lives, saved them as if they were their sons by blood.

I know that all kinds of things happened in the Afghan war. But there was not a single commander who could give the monstrous order to shoot his own men. And I cannot imagine a single Afghan vet who could follow such an order.

I hope that Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov will relate this to those misinformers whom he so unquestioningly and irresponsibly believed so that the question of who shot whom will not go unanswered.

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